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Czechoslovakia

CSTK reports that talks between Czech and Slovak political representatives on a draft constitutional setup and "the two republics' future coexistence have been suspended." Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Mikloski explained that the situation in the Slovak parliament "is complicated" after its rejection of the draft constitution approved by a joint republican commission. Among Slovak legislators' rejections to the treaty are "formulations about a united economic market." Negotiations should be continued after the June elections, according to Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova.

The newly reconvened Federal Assembly rejected three constitutional amendments dealing with relations between the president, parliament, and the federal government, CSTK reports. Consequently, in the general elections to be held in June candidates will be elected to the current Federal Assembly structure.

Poland

Center Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Polish Peasant Party-"Solidarity" leader Jozef Slisz now express support for a "broader political base" in Olszewski's government. "In this context they referred to the Democratic Union," according to PAP. Kaczynski warned that failing to broaden the ruling coalition "may result in the collapse of the present government." "Confrontation" over the economic program and the 1992 budget has created this "danger," Kaczynski stated.

Yugoslavia

Croatia—Addressing a news conference held in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade, Mile Paspalj, president of the assembly of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" said that Milan Babic was "removed in a legal way." TANJUG reports that "Babic was replaced not only as the president of the republic and the government, but he was also dismissed from the position of supreme commander of Krajina's armed forces." Describing Babic as his "long-time friend," Paspalj said that "Babic, in his longing for power, is clutching at straws" in his attempt to claim that the assembly's decision is illegal because it lacked a quorum.

Romania

Bucharest radio reports that on 18 February Judge Ion Ionescu of the Central Electoral Commission released the final nationwide results of the 9 February local elections. Councillors were elected in 2,283 constituencies. In the first round of elections, the following parties received the majority of votes: the National Salvation Front gained 40.24 percent; the Democratic Convention, 20.77 percent; the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania, 11.64 percent; and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, 6.69 percent.

SDS Criticized for Lack of 'Pragmatic Program'

AU1802190892 Sofia BTA in English 1636 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 18 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist (ex-communist) Party [BSP], the most influential opposition force, sharply criticized the government which completed its first 100 days in office today. The Bulgarian Democratic Centre which brings together the centrist forces also took a critical stand to the cabinet yesterday.

Today Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, prime minister of the BSP shadow cabinet, circulated a critical report to the press. Excerpts from the report are to be published shortly. The BSP criticizes not only the government's actions during its first 100 days but also the present tendencies in administration.

The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] government is criticized for lacking a "pragmatic programme," as Mr. Tomov put it. Its steps are "ideologically and politically motivated" and "oriented to small-group interests." The lack of a programme remains the cabinet's major flaw, as far as the BSP is concerned. According to Mr. Tomov, there is some inequality in the cabinet, i.e. some ministers have greater powers and more functions than others.

If the economic policy is not revised radically, the economy may collapse, Mr. Tomov warned. In his opinion, the extreme monetarism chosen by the government is unacceptable. According to the BSP, during the three months of SDS's rule inflation rose by some 15 percent. There are no visible achievements in the structural adjustment of economy. The land reform also faces serious problems. The closure of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations led to a hyperbureaucratization and overconcentration in the Ministry of Industry and Trade which is headed by Mr. Ivan Pushkarov. Social policy is the reform's hostage. In the past three months the number of job losses increased by 53,000. Criminality is growing and the clearance rate is just 36 percent.

Yesterday Mr. Aleksandur Tomov met with Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and presented the BSP's stand. He gave no details about the prime minister's reaction.

"The BSP is in opposition, so it is quite natural that it will be trying to unseat the government. But at this moment the BSP is not seeking a parliamentary and a cabinet crisis, the price would be too high for this country. If the tendencies remain unchanged and if the social problems go beyond certain limits, the people will render its verdict," Mr. Tomov said when asked whether the BSP is striving for power. He also said that the BSP is apprehensive about what he called "a possible use of force as a result of the social processes."

Prime Minister Reacts to Attacks

AU1802190592 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 18 (BTA)—"Many political forces deliberately try to create the impression of tension which could always turn into real tension," Mr. Filip Dimitrov, prime minister and leader of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], told the press today in connection with the recent wave of criticism against the cabinet. According to him, the success of what parliament and the government are now doing depends much on the people's understanding of the meaning of their actions.

The attempts to distort that meaning are really alarming, Mr. Dimitrov pointed out. The spokesman for the SDS, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, described as "slander and instigation" yesterday's statement of BSP leader Zhan Videnov who criticized the government and the ruling coalition.

At its meeting today the National Coordinating Council of the SDS did not discuss the cabinet's 100 days. "We will made an assessment of the government when parliament passes the acts necessary for the genuine replacement of the system," Mr. Nedelchev explained. In his opinion, the opposition's attempt to draw the attention to the government's 100 days and take it as an opportunity to criticize it is a "manipulation of public opinion."

Two weeks ago the parliamentary SDS demanded structural changes in the SDS cabinet. Mr. Filip Dimitrov explained that the government considers such demands but they cannot be binding and no deadlines can be set. The government seeks the optimum solution of its problems as they arise, he explained.

Federal Assembly Rejects Constitution Amendments

LD1802170592 Prague CSTK in English 1612 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 18 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament today failed to approve amendments to three sections of the federal constitution newly arranging relations between the president of the republic, the parliament and the government. The original aim of the new federal parliament, which emerged from the June 1990 elections, was to adopt a new constitution.

The rejection today of the three amendments means that the June general elections will be to the parliament in its present structure: the 150-seat House of Nations and the 150-seat House of the People. The House of Nations has a parity composition: 75 Czech and 75 Slovak deputies, while the House of the People's composition is proportional to the number of Czechs and Slovaks living in Czechoslovakia (over 10 million and over 5 million respectively).

One of the amendments provided for a parliament consisting of a 200-member house of representatives, seated in Prague, and a 100-member senate, seated in Bratislava and composed of 50 Czech and 50 Slovak deputies.

The discussion of the amendments was adjourned at the current 20th joint session of the two houses on January 31 until February 17 so that the results of talks of a commission of Czech and Slovak regional parliaments on the future state setup of Czechoslovakia could be taken into consideration. The agreement on the principles of the state setup worked out at Milovy, South Moravia, on February 9, which was to form the basis for drafting a new Czechoslovak constitution, however was rejected by the presidium of the Slovak parliament February 12. In spite of this, the federal parliament decided to go ahead with discussing the three amendments. They did not gain the necessary total of 45 votes in the Slovak part of the House of Nations. It was supported by 42 deputies.

Also today, the parliament approved an amendment to the February 1991 law on privatisation of big industrial enterprises, aimed at preventing illegal transactions. The amendment states that privatisation projects must include enterprises' commitments in the field of environmental protection. It also stipulates that every enterprise must provide necessary data to persons working out alternative privatisation projects. The first wave of voucher privatisation is expected to start in March, following its preliminary round which opened February 17. The overall value of companies to be privatised is about 260,000 million crowns (8,966 million USd).

Talks on Czech-Slovak Treaty Suspended

AU1802184292 Prague CSTK in English 2030 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 14 (CSTK)— Slovak parliament chairman Frantisek Miklosko today said the talks between Czech and Slovak political representatives on a Czech-Slovak draft accord laying down the principles of the two republics' future coexistence have been suspended.

Speaking to reporters after a working meeting today with Czech parliament chairwoman Dagmar Buresova, Miklosko said the situation in the Slovak parliament Presidium is complicated after its rejection of Wednesday [12 February] of the draft agreement produced by a commission of experts of both sides after a week-long session at Milovy, South Moravia, last week. Miklosko said the main objections of the Slovak parliament Presidium members were that the draft fails to mention that it is an accord between the two republics and that it contained formulations about a united economic market.

Buresova said it would be better to settle the issue of Czechoslovakia's future state setup after the parliamentary elections, to be held in June.

Buresova and Miklosko informed President Vaclav Havel of the talks on the draft agreement at Lany near Prague where Havel is recovering from flu.

Calfa Comments on Collapse of Constitutional Talks

LD1802185792 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1850 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent in the Tatra mountains; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Slovak National Council Presidium made a very serious decision this week which might affect the whole constitutional set up in our country. What can this cause, in your view?

[Calfa] This is a matter of exceptional significance. Roughly a year ago, or possibly a year and a half ago, the president set in motion certain activities about matters which should be included in the new constitution, for we have resolved that we should adopt new constitutions. On this basis, talks have begun about our future, our constitutional arrangement, our new constitution, and what our state will look like in the future.

One stage of these talks has ended. It was followed by talks between representatives of both national councils based on the conclusions reached at the discussions among all political groupings that were held in Kromeriz. The conclusion was that the two national councils should hold talks and these discussions have really begun.

During the many rounds of these discussions, a certain model, a certain relationship, was sought that would find its expression in a document. This was done last week in Milovy in Zdar district. A document emerged which was called a treaty that would be concluded on the one hand by the Czech people and their representatives, and on the

other hand by the Slovak people and their representatives. This treaty could have established our new future and new statehood, and defined the principles of the constitutional arrangement on which basis a new constitution of the common state would be drawn up. But all of this, all the historic work which was done over a period of more than a year, was in effect rejected in the 10 to 10 voting in the Slovak National Council Presidium.

I do not know whether this is sufficiently realized, but I regard that vote as a historic moment. Those who voted against this document have in fact taken a step toward the breakup of this state. This is my personal assessment, and I think that this will go down in history as a negative step. This is why it is necessary to say very clearly that those on the Slovak National Council Presidium who decided to take this step were representatives of the Slovak National Party, representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia, representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left, and some representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement, evidently those with rather strong nationalist feelings. Representatives of the Christian Democratic Union-Public Against Violence, representatives of the Democratic Party, and some representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement, as well as some nationally oriented parties, voted in favor of the document.

I have to say that talks about such a document are quite a complicated matter, because there are two sides to the discussions and if they want to reach an agreement they somehow have to reach an accommodation with each other. It is not possible to accept the opinions of one side alone. Slovakia did not accept many opinions of the Czech side, and the Czech side did not accept many opinions of the Slovaks. A model was sought that would be at least partially acceptable to the two sides.

A treaty cannot be proclaimed unilaterally, as we have witnessed lately. This has all been discarded, and I have the feeling that we have not yet assessed this moment historically. In my view we have now set in motion a centrifugal process for the two parts of our common state—the Czech lands and Slovakia.

[Correspondent] You have been talking about a historic step which we are in effect taking at this moment. Do you not believe that there is still time to apply brakes and go back?

[Calfa] Of course, it is always necessary to seek a way out of such a situation. However, I think, and I have said this on many occasions, that many representatives and many political parties, regrettably much more so in Slovakia than in the Czech lands—I regret this, although I like to hear it—there is no desire for a common state.

I would be very glad if people realized very clearly which political movements and which political parties in Slovakia really want a common state and which do not. This is very important, especially now in the run up to the election, because the future of our statehood, both the common statehood and possibly the divided statehood, will depend on which movements and parties win votes. This is very important, and it needs to be borne in mind all the time.

[Correspondent] Recently, some politicians have begun to intervene rather rashly in legal matters. But in a state where the rule of law applies, the roles of politicians and of those concerned with the law should be defined very precisely. What is your view on this matter?

[Calfa] You know, a state where the rule of law applies—and we have embarked on building such a state—is based on the principle that policy plays a role as far as the forming of laws is concerned, that is, in the legislative bodies where political parties are represented and where laws are formed. Once a law has been drawn up, it is put into effect.

We also have a second principle: No state bodies, above all enforcement bodies, courts, prosecutor's office, and state bodies, are going to have a political character; on the contrary, they are going to be apolitical. Activities by political parties and movements within them is excluded, and of course we also exclude the possibility of the representatives of such bodies being members of political parties and movements. We would like to separate these two spheres very consistently. We would like them to stand above parties, because their only role is to solve every case fairly, simply to apply the law fairly.

That is why it is very alarming that representatives of such state bodies are being attacked—especially, of late, representatives of prosecutor's offices—for meticulously observing the law, for striving to apply laws, and to apply them exactly in the manner intended when they were drafted. In my opinion, this is also their main constitutional role and they cannot deviate from this. To cast doubt on the application of laws from a political point of view is, I would say, a really clear indication that not all of us share the same idea of a state where the rule of law applies.

I would really like it to be clearly realized that these bodies are here to apply the law, and that political parties are here to draft laws in parliament through deputies in our parliamentary system.

What is unacceptable, and this is something we have recently witnessed, is for politicians to intervene in, or simply attempt to influence, the activities of these state bodies by making public statements. We have to be really on guard. My view is that if we allow this to go on, we abandon the idea of a state where the rule of law applies, and this would be very bad.

Assembly Amends Large-Scale Privatization Law

LD1802175892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] This morning, the Federal Assembly approved an amendment to the law on large-scale privatization, the purpose of which is to prevent property speculation

earmarked for this type of privatization. The draft amendment was supported mainly by representatives of government parties and by a majority of independent deputies elected on the Civic Forum platform. The final form of the amendment is a compromise which seeks a conflict-free and smooth privatization process.

Today, the Federal Assembly also rejected an amendment to the law on settlement of ownership relations to land and other agricultural property. It was mainly the Slovak opposition that voted against the proposed amendment. Parliament speaker Alexander Dubcek then convened a political caucus to enable the deputies' clubs to establish what their positions are before the voting on the draft amendment to three chapters of the constitution.

Carnogursky Reiterates Commitment to Conversion

LD1902041192 Prague CSTK in English 1754 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Bratislava Feb 18 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky today rejected a statement printed Tuesday by the German news agency ADN that the conversion of the Slovak armaments industry to civilian production is unrealistic "music of the future".

"Conversion in Slovakia is continuing", Carnogursky said. "Weapons production is declining and is being cut back faster than in comparable Western countries—in any case, faster than in Germany." With 80 per cent of the country's weapons plants located on Slovak territory and 100,000 people employed in arms and arms-related industries, conversion to non-military production has become a major issue for the Czechoslovak Government since the 1989 revolution.

Speaking to reporters during a break in today's Slovak cabinet session, Carnogursky also responded to a question about the future of the Hungarian-Polish-Czechoslovak "troika" in the case of Hungary's breaking its 1977 agreement with Czechoslovakia on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project. "The federal and Slovak governments will endeavour for that not to happen", he said. "I think the problem of Gabcikovo in itself ought not to be the reason for the breakdown of cooperation....".

Calfa: Yeltsin Promises To Solve Companies Claims

LD1902091992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa said after his return from a one-day visit to Russia that the highest priority during the talks there were the claims of Czechoslovak companies totalling over $500 million. He also said that Russian President Boris Yeltsin promised that these issues will be resolved in some way within two weeks. Prime Minister Calfa said he thinks the problem will have to be resolved at an international level so that Czechoslovak firms have no fears in trading with Russian partners, as this is a market with a future.

Hungary Seen To Be 'Politicizing' Gabcikovo Issue

AU1802185292 Prague CSTK in English 1236 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Bratislava Feb 15 (CSTK)—[passage omitted] Referring to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros issue, NARODNA OBRODA says that Hungary's recent threat to withdraw from the 1977 agreement on the project confirms that calls for politicizing the issue have prevailed in Budapest. The daily points out that on the one hand Budapest supports the principle that borders are inviolable but "through unofficial channels and its unusually vital lobby it is trying to persuade the world that Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries are being harmed and it would be better if they could join their mother country (with the regions they inhabit)."

Fur Criticizes CSFR Media's Misquoting

LD1802200992 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI)—Minister of Defence Lajos Fur, acting president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), played back a tape recording of his speech made in Miskolc, northern Hungary, at an HDF meeting on February 14, some parts of which were incorrectly quoted over the past days by several Czech and Slovak newspapers.

In answer to a question from MTI's staff member, Fur said he genuinely considers the security of the Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin to be extremely important, which is why he specially discussed this issue.

Fur played back the parts of his speech in question: "...There is a characteristic, a special condition and factor of the security of the Hungarian nation that is, if I may say so, characteristic only of us Hungarians. Namely, that the Hungarian nation here in the Carpathian basin does not only imply the Republic of Hungary. The Hungarian nation here, in the Carpathian basin, implies a language-nation. A nation of whom one-third unfortunately were placed into minority with the Trianon peace treaty. An indispensable part and element of upholding the security of the Hungarian nation is to safeguard all Hungarians here in the Carpathian basin. Today, in this extremely transitional, extremely pliant age, the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian parliament, any kind of Hungarian policy should do everything possible, should utilise all diplomatic means in the interests that the endangerment of our minorities be eliminated, that the conditions for the existence of our minorities be guaranteed both by them and us. Both from here and the world as well."

Afterwards, Fur said: "I do not understand why the Czech and Slovak press quoted my speech incompletely, and why it did not report what I stressed, namely that it is our obligation to promote the implementation of the interest of Hungarians and their security exclusively with lawful diplomatic means. We have good and successful cooperation based on mutual respect with the Czechoslovak Republic in the field of defence. In this situation, it is regrettable that certain newspapers do not report about such major issues in the way the remarks were actually made," said Minister of Defence Lanos Fur.

Antall Nominates Radio, TV Deputy Chairmen

AU1902144692 Budapest MTI in English 1425 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, 17 February (MTI)—The appointment of financial expert Dr. Laszlo Csucs as vice-president of Hungarian Radio and of economic engineer Dr. Gabor Nahlik as vice-president of Hungarian Television as of March 1 has been proposed by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to President Arpad Goncz.

The prime minister's press office said the appointments would be aimed at consolidating national media leadership, financial discipline, and objective operation. The prime minister suggested to the speaker of parliament the hearing of the candidates by the appropriate parliamentary committee, and notified the president of the republic of this.

Back in the summer of 1991, the prime minister made a proposal for the appoinment of three radio and three television vice-presidents. After media leaders, journalists, and the opposition parties indicated their disapproval of the persons nominated, President Goncz refused to sign the document saying that a social consensus was needed before these posts could be filled.

At the prime minister's request, the Constitutional Court ruled on Janaury 28 that no concrete deadline could be set for the president to sign the document. The candidates withdrew, and the prime minister is now proposing the appointment of new persons. The radio and television presidents have come under heavy fire in recent weeks from the parties in the government coalition who demanded their resignation. The opposition parties spoke out in their defence. The presidents are appointed, at the prime minister's proposal, by the president of the republic on the basis of six-party consensus.

Walesa Expresses Support for New NIK Chairman

LD1602012892 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 15—"A scouts' game" played with a view to winning the chairmanship of NIK, the Supreme Board of Inspection, is President Lech Walesa's description of the recent political activity within the triangle of the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the Centre Alliance (PC), and the Democratic Union (UD).

Talking to reporters Saturday [15 February] before departure from Gdansk to Warsaw, the president said: "I think that the recent activity and the meetings were designed to fill in the post of NIK chairman. It was a scouts' game of sorts, but one that suceeded, and perhaps it will turn out for the good. I do not despise such games."

Walesa said the task facing the newly elected NIK chairman, still to be approved by the Senate, is enormous, while his experience in the field not very great. "Today it would be premature to make predictions on how Lech Kaczynski will fare in his new capacity. I do hope his chances are big, especially with the support from the government and the president. I will do my best to help the NIK," said Walesa.

Asked about his recent calls on the Justice and Interior Ministries, President Walesa announced this was just the beginning and "now I will have to take steps and hold meetings which perhaps will not be popular. For instance, I have to meet the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions), I must try to involve as many people as possible in the task of reforming the country."

The president spoke about the need of absolving the great majority of the society of past errors and building a common front for using the opportunities Poland now faced. "Some 90 percent of all society must start to work in concert instead of looking back at past programmes," he said, adding that before long he would come out with a proposal along these lines.

President Visits Ministry of Internal Affairs

LD1602131792 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa has been visiting another ministry. Following his visit to the Ministry of Justice, he called at the Ministry of Internal Affairs today.

[Begin Walesa recording] We must clean up both the political and the economic structures of the republic. We must remember that, for today, we have to deal with a lack of laws and lawbreaking, that it is precisely this institution which stands guard over the law and over respect for the law, an institution that grapples with various problems and difficulties, an institution that we must understand and, as it were, adapt to the new Poland. Such talks remove ambiguities and, at the same time, result in cooperation. All of us, every citizen, must for his own security help these services, so that unified, we may mutually defend one another, so that we may take control of this transient period in which we find ourselves. [end recording]

Walesa Answers Questions on Work Methods

LD1502191492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Excerpts] President Lech Walesa received representatives from Polish Radio and Television at Belvedere Palace this morning. The matters discussed included the functioning of the mass media in Poland. The president also answered questions. One question referred to the situation in the Ministry of National Defense.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] You do not give the impression of a man who comes to his office and familiarizes himself with the situation, but rather a man who comes with very defined visions and implements them quickly and decisively. Are these conceptions different from what was prepared?

[Walesa] One may implement things in different ways. One mechanic will take apart a car delivered for work when only the spark plugs need to be changed. As an old mechanic of labor, I first look at what can really be done and what I have at my disposal before taking things apart. [passage omitted]

Second, I have been president for a year. I have to think about many problems about which I was not thinking before, especially since things are changing—matters of security, cooperation, and preparation for many contingencies. [passage omitted]

We have to think calmly about the policies, the money we have, and the sense of all this. A great storm starts. We have prepared something because we had a year and others did not. I must once again request that people not to draw conclusions too fast because they are not true. [end recording]

Olszewski Urged To Expand Government Base

LD1802233792 Warsaw PAP in English 2257 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 18:—Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski and his counterpart from the Polish Peasant Party-PSL Solidarity Jozef Slisz Tuesday [18 February] came out in favour of a broader political base for the government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. In this context they referred to the Democratic Union (UD).

The failure to broaden the ruling coalition may result in the collapse of the present government, Kaczynski warned at a news confernece. He said such a danger has been created by the confrontation around the economic programme, and above all the 1992 budget.

The PC leader reiterated that both he and his brother Lech Kaczynski had been authorized by the prime minister to hold talks with the UD on expanding the ruling coalition. "To my question as to whether we can present Tadeusz Mazowiecki with certain plans, the prime minister replied in the affirmative," Jaroswlaw Kaczynski stressed.

He also rejected rumours that the Christian National Union (ZCHN) wanted to withdraw from the coalition the moment it learnt about the negotiations. "ZCHN representatives clearly declared that they are open to a coalition with the UD," Kaczynski said.

Speaking about the PC's and PSL solidarity's plan to forge a political bloc of Christian-Peasant parties, leader of the PSL Solidarity Jozef Slisz told the conference that there would be a place in the bloc for such Christian Democratic parties as the PCHD (Party of Christian Democrats), the Labour Party and also that part of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) which shares Christian-Democratic values.

According to Slisz the formation of the bloc may take a long time "starting from parliamentary cooperation, through establishment of a federation of political parties which in the future may turn into one major Christian-Peasant Party."

Slisz said his party, aiming to broaden its formula, planned to call a Peasant-Christian congress in April or May of this year.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski stated that his party was conducting talks on the formation of a Christian-Peasant bloc with conservative-liberal groupings. "We do not want to form a bloc which would group the traditional right wing, programmatically linked to the pre-war conservative Catholic groupings," he said, explaining that the success of the present Christian Democratic parties in many countries was determined by their ability to combine liberal, conservative and social democratic concerpts.

Kaczynski stressed that though his party shared some of the values advocated by the Christian National Union (ZCHN) the differences existing between the two parties "rendered impossible their activity within one grouping."

PC Chairman Believes Government Could Fall

LD1802123892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] A news conference given by the leaders of the Center Alliance [PC] and Solidarity Polish Peasant Party [PSL] has ended in Warsaw.

[Correspondent Marek Kasa] [PC Chairman] Jaroslaw Kaczynski and [PSL Solidarity Chairman] Jozef Slisz reported on the alliance of their groups and their strivings to create a large Christian-Democratic bloc stretching from the Christian wing of PSL to conservative and liberal groups. The Christian National Union [ZChN] does not fit in this bloc and moreover, one of the reasons is the nationalistic elements in that group's program. Both leaders stressed that they have no intention of seeking the authority of the church.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski replied to many question concerning talks with the Democratic Union [UD] on broadening the government coalition. He said that his brother and himself had authority for those talks from the prime minister and he does not understand the statements by the government's spokesman and by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski denying that. In his opinion, for example, the budget debate in the Sejm has demonstrated that the government's position is not stable at present and its collapse is possible. He denied that the ZChN is opposed to the UD's entry to the government.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski believes that recent events considerable hamper the UD's entry into the coalition, but hopes this does not totally close the matter.

Sejm Adopts Anticorruption Resolution 14 Feb

LD1502154492 Warsaw PAP in English 2338 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 14—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday [14 February] passed a resolution on counteracting corruption and pathological phenomena in the economy and rejected a presidential veto to the amendments to the banking law passed last October.

The anticorruption resolution, passed after a lengthy discussion, obliges the prime minister to produce by the end of April an analysis of the causes and effects of pathological economic phenomena and actions taken to-date in order to recover what has been due to the state treasury.

The resolution also points to the need to fix individual responsibility of civil servants who contributed to the emergence of such phenomena and obliges the Government to propose measures securing the property interests of the state treasury.

In the discussion deputies insisted on the necessity of taking uncompromising actions to combat economic fraud, including regulatory ones.

By passing again the amendments to the banking law and other laws the Sejm rejected the presidential veto which questioned some of the new provisions, among them the possibility of establishing parabanking institutions, that is ones having no status of a bank but engaged in the banking activity.

The amendments, passed last October, have been waiting four months to become effective, and the acceptance of the presidential veto by the Sejm would mean necessity to reopen the entire legislative procedure, while the outdated regulations passed in 1989 would be still binding failing to protect the banking system against economic fraud.

The provisions questioned by the president may be changed under an emergency procedure proposed by the appropriate Sejm committee.

Government Submits Economic Guidelines to Sejm

LD1702141792 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—The guidelines of the government socioeconomic policy in 1992 which were submitted to the Sejm Saturday [15 February] provide for halting recession as the main target. In the following years it should be possible to achieve growth without rekindling inflation, says the document.

Investments will be given priority in the economic policy. Despite scant budget revenues, the government plans to counteract disarray in public administration, the army, police and administration of justice. Measures will be taken to reduce the debt burden shouldered by enterprises. The turnover tax will be used to augment budget revenues.

The wage growth tax will be retained in the coming two years in order to keep wage-related inflation under control. After April 1, 1992, retail prices of energy, medicines, rents and fares will grow every quarter in line with growth in prices of consumer goods. Guaranteed minimum prices will be introduced on wheat and rye as well as milk. The exchange rate of the zloty will crawl until the end of 1992. Convenient credit terms will be offerred to agriculture and housing construction sectors.

Sejm Rejects Senate Amendments

LD1702141392 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 15—By a two-thirds majority the Sejm on Saturday [15 February] rejected most of the substantive Senate amendments to budget-related laws passed by the Sejm together with the interim budget for the first quarter of 1992.

After a lengthy debate, the Sejm rejected the three most controversial tax proposals. As a result, the maximum tax rate on personal income remains at 40 percent, personal wealth of partners to limited liability companies will not be liable to execution on account of tax obligations, and, finally, leasing contracts will not be liable to tax.

On the other hand, the Sejm acccepted the Senate amendments requiring that disability and old age pensions be adjusted for inflation every three (instead of four) months if wages rise by at least 10 percent.

The Sejm rejected a draft resolution tabled by a group of MPs [members of parliament] who wanted the government to halt the sale of Polish Ilyushin-62 airliners to the Ukraine. The majority endorsed the opinion that such a resolution would amount to interference in the powers of the executive branch.

The Presidium of the Sejm informed MPs Saturday that their allowances would not be raised, contrary to earlier announcements.

After the first reading, the draft law on communal savings banks was referred to Sejm committees.

'Solidarity 80' Leader Greets Rzeszow Conference

LD1702142292 Warsaw PAP in English 2106 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Rzeszow, Feb. 15—The leader of "Solidarity 80", Marian Jurczyk claimed Saturday [15 February] that his union would number a million members within a year, or at least 600-700,000. He made the statement at the Rzeszow (southeast Poland) regional conference of his union, an area which organises over 1,000 "Solidarity 80" members in three provinces.

Jurczyk stressed that his union had never been a "protective umbrella" for the government but "we were and will always be a protective umbrella for society".

Jurczyk said that in the near future the return to the union of money owed from martial law times would allow it to "lay the foundation for a strong union—strong in its wisdom, honesty, integrity and organisation".

"Solidarity 80" would be setting up its own team of experts to analyse the government programme, create its own centre for surveying public opinion and start up its own trade union press, added Jurczyk.

Krzaklewski Blames Government for Talks Failure

LD1602224992 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski stated on Sunday [16 February] it was an error of the government that the recent negotiations on the energy price hikes with Jan Olszewski's team had failed to produce an agreement satisfactory to the union.

"The fact that the union's proposals (on the price rises) were not reckoned with is a loss for Poland, the government and democratic reforms," Krzaklewski told the 3rd Solidarity congress in the southeastern region of Rzeszow.

The congress discussed methods for counteracting unemployment in the region, unionists' supervision over privatisation, and the restoration of the union's power. It elected Adam Sniezek leader of the regional Solidarity.

Local congresses of the Solidarity union were also held in the southwestern city of Wroclaw and in Bialystok in northeastern Poland. The former reelected Tomasz Wojcik Solidarity leader in Lower Silesia, while Wojciech Lowiec was chosen for Solidarity head in the Bialystok region.

Denies Government Forgiven

LD1602012792 Warsaw PAP in English 2232 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Wroclaw, Feb. 15—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski told the conference of Solidarity's Lower Silesian branch in Wroclaw on Friday [14 February] that it was not true that Solidarity "had forgiven" the government over the energy price hikes.

"We believed in the formal position of the government. We had good arguments, a readiness to compromise. Poland lost out when we did not reach a consensus," he said.

He added that the ten-point "stabilisation agreement" with the government which had been announced by the National Committee in the Solidarity weekly was still an offer.

The second day of the conference was marked by elections and a discussion on the direction the union should take.

Piotr Bednarz, one of the founder members of Solidarity in the area in 1980 told PAP that the aim of the union from the beginning had been the achievement of an independent sovereign state, governed democratically, with a market economy. Solidarity had to treat this aim as a priority so that it did not destabilise a democratic state.

Industrial Production Declines, Prices Increase

LD1902040692 Warsaw PAP in English 1850 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 18—Industrial production and net pay went down, while prices went up in Poland last month as compared with December 1991, according to the Main Statistical Office (GUS) estimate released Tuesday [18 February]. The national performance in January offers no indication of any prospective change in the economic trends, was GUS deputy president's comment.

Industrial production in January was 3.7 percent below the December 1991 record. The average net pay went down by 8.9 percent to reach 2,092,100 zlotys, or about 185 U.S. dollars, which—coupled with a 7.5 rise in the prices for consumer goods and services—has produced a 15.3 percent drop in real wages.

While a drop in industrial production against December is considered a fairly normal development, the fact that the January figure was also 15.6 percent below the January 1991 record shows that recession is deepening in Poland. Metallurgy and the light industry came up with the poorest performance, entailing a drop of 33 and 28 percent, respectively, as compared with the same time last year. The smallest drop, of 3.6 percent, was recorded in food processing. Meanwhile, the state budget deficit reached five trillion zlotys, or about 450 million dollars.

The GUS has failed to supply data on foreign trade this time, as the introduction of single administrative document has caused major confusion among importers and exporters. Hence the results must now be verified, the deputy president said.

PAP President Says Agency Will Be Independent

LD1802172392 Warsaw PAP in English 1519 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 18—The newly appointed president of the PAP Polish press agency, Krzysztof Czabanski, Tuesday [18 February] denounced one newspaper claim that the PAP is going to remain a government agency.

Said Mr. Czabanski in his reply to an article by RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Now operating as a state administration organ, the Polish press agency is going to be transformed into a press agency owned by the state treasury and private capital. It will be a public institution whose task will be to provide reliable information to the citizens instead of political parties or centres of power."

Czabanski said legal and structural changes within the PAP are now being drafted and they enjoy the approval of the Polish prime minister.

Railway Workers End Two-Hour Warning Strike

LD1902115792 Warsaw PAP in English 1021 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 19 (PAP)—Railway workers ended their two-hour warning strike that lasted from 08:00 to 10:00 hrs [0700 to 0900 GMT] local time on Wednesday [19 February] morning and was successful only in some regions of the country.

According to sources at the PKP state railway company, the size of the strike action and its course will be known in a couple of hours. The strikers were protesting low wages and a threatened layoff of some 25,000 workers. Railway fares are due to rise by 30 percent as from March 30.

Countrywide Local Election Results Announced

AU1802195792 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Report by Judge Ion Ionescu of the Central Electoral Commission on "countrywide results of 9 February local elections" issued in Bucharest on 18 February]

[Text] The total number of constituencies was 2,951; the number of listed voters totaled 16,404,149; the number of voters who came to the polls—10,647,856, that is 64.91 percent.

The number of councillors stipulated by law—40,178.

Of the 2,951 mayors stipulated by law a number of 1,340 were elected in the first round of elections.

The number of constituencies where councillors were elected—2,283.

The councillors' mandates achieved in the first round of elections total 38,946 and are distributed as follows: National Salvation Front [FSN]—15,670, that is 40.24 percent; Democratic Convention—8,088, that is 20.77 percent; Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR]—4,532, that is 11.64 percent; Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]—2,606, that is 6.69 percent; independents—2,425, that 6.23 percent; Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR]—1,508, that is 3.87 percent; Ecologist Movement of Romania [MER]—679, that is 1.74 percent; National Liberal Party [PNL]—560, that is 1.44 percent; Republican Party—514, that is 1.32 percent; National Liberal Party (young wing)—377, that is 0.97 percent; Democratic Leftist Union—244, that is 0.63 percent; Independent Candidates List 222, that is 0.57 percent; Romania Mare Party—165, that is 0.42 percent; Romanian Ecologist Party [PER]—91, that is 0.23 percent; Ecologists 88, that is 0.23 percent; Democratic Party of the Unity of the Romanian State—84, that is 0.22 percent; National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-CD]—75, that is 0.19 percent; Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania [FDGR]—69, that is 0.18 percent; Ecologists' Convention—65, that is 0.17 percent; Traditional Social Democratic Party—63, that is 0.16 percent; Pro-Democracy Convention—59, that is 0.15 percent; Union of Ukrainians in Romania—59, that is 0.15 percent; Community of Lipova Russians—45, that is 0.12 percent; Romanies' Alliance—43, that is 0.11 percent; Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR]—34, that is 0.9 percent; Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania—29, that is 0.7 percent; Romanies' Union—29, that is 0.7 percent; Cooperatist Democratic Party—24, that is 0.6 percent; Social Democratic FSN—21, that is 0.5 percent; Democratic Union of Serbs in Romania—21, that is 0.5 percent; FDGR—20, that is 00.5 percent; Hungarian Small Holders Party—20, that is 0.5 percent; Democratic Forum of Banat Germans—19, that is 0.5 percent; Democratic Union Alliance of Hungarians in Romanian and German Democratic Forum—19, that is 0.5 percent; FSN plus PUNR—18, that is 0.5 percent; Civic Alliance Party [PAC]—17, that is 0.4 percent; Democratic Union of Turkish Muslim Farmers in Romania—17, that is 0.4 percent; National Ecologist Party—17, that is 0.4 percent; Party of Romania's Rebirth and Independence—15, that is 0.4 percent; Union of Croatians in Romania—15, that is 0.4 percent; Democratic Union of Romanies—15, that is 0.4 percent; Bratianu Liberal Union—14, that is 0.4 percent; Romanian Democratic Front of Timisoara—13, that is 0.3 percent; Romanian Socialist Democratic Party—12, that is 0.3 percent; Free Democratic Union of Romanies in Romania—11, that is 0.3 percent; FSN plus UDMR—11, that is 0.3 percent; the remainder of the parties and political formations achieved less than 10 councillors' mandates.

A total of 1,340 mayors have been elected and are distributed as follows: FSN—764, that is 57.01 percent; independents—191, that is 14.25 percent; UDMR—117, that is 8.73 percent; Democratic Convention—100, that is 7.46 percent; PDAR—70, that is 5.22 percent; PUNR—38, that is 2.84 percent; Pro-Democracy Convention—17, that is 1.27 percent; PNL—six, that is 0.45 percent; MER—five, that is 0.37 percent; Republican Party—four; that is 0.30 percent; FDGR—four, that is 0.30 percent; National Liberal Party (young wing)—three, that is 0.22 percent; FSN plus PUNR—three, that is 0.22 percent; Union of Ukrainians in Romania—three, that is 0.22 percent; Community of Lipova Russians—two, that is 0.15 percent; Democratic Leftist Union—two, that is 0.15 percent; Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania—two, that is 0.15 percent; Democratic Party of the Unity of Romanian Villages—one, that is 0.7 percent; FSN plus UDMR—one, that is 0.7 percent; UDMR Alliance and FDGR—one, that is 0.7 percent; Ecologist Convention—one, that is 0.7 percent; the coalition of the FSN and PDAR—one, that is 0.7 percent; Romania Mare Party—one, that is 0.7 percent; Ecologists—one, that is 0.7 percent; PSDR—one, that is 0.7 percent; Union of Croations in Romania—one, that is 0.7 percent.

Constituencies in which new elections will be held: For councillors—69 constituencies and the same number of constituencies for mayors.

Campeanu Outlines PNL's Stand on Elections

AU1802190292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1545 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/2/1992—"I believe that the recent election campaign has proceeded in a decent manner and it does not resemble the 1990 campaign at all," told Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party [PNL] a news conference on the PNL participation in governing, held on February 18, in Bucharest. Referring to the PNL stand on the general elections, the PNL chairman said: "We are for parliamentary elections to be held in May, and as for the date of the presidential elections, I think they should be held

2-3 months after the parliamentary ones so that a referendum on the form of government should be held in the meanwhile."

The news conference was participated in by personalities of the National Liberal Party, including Mircea Ionescu Quintus, minister of justice; George Danielescu, minister of economy and finance; Mircea Teodor Vaida, secretary of state with the Local Administration Department; Emil Tocaci, secretary of state with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. French ambassador in Bucharest, Renaud Vignal, attended.

"The journalists' questions mainly referred to the local elections, the foreign currency control, the PNL participation in governing, the relations among the parties of the Democratic Convention and measures to fight corruption and bureaucracy.

Interior Minister, Leaders Discuss Elections

AU1802210692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/2/1992—Minister of the Interior Victor Babiuc met Tuesday, 18 February, with leaders of the main political parties that are participating in the elections.

Measures were discussed on the occasion to ensure the correctness and civilized character of the local elections, under condition of total freedom and civic security, in conformity with the principles and norms proper to the state of law.

Attending were Petre Roman, National Salvation Front; Radu Campeanu, National Liberal Party; Corneliu Coposu, Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party; Atilla Veresztoy, Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania; Constantin Avramescu, Socialist- Democratic Party of Romania; Radu Ceontea, Romania's Party of National Unity; Victor Surdu, Romania's Democratic Agrarian Party; and Nicolae Manolescu, Civic Alliance Party.

Party Leaders Assess Local Election Results

AU1802205592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/2/1992—The newspaper "LIBERTATEA" carries an opinion poll on the February 9 local elections and on options in the second round of voting to be held on February 23. The poll was conducted with party leaders who had notable results in the first ballot.

Radu Campeanu, leader of the National Liberal Party (PNL), considered the results the Democratic Convention (a political alliance of 14 opposition party, including the PNL) scored in the first round of voting as "obviously fine" and opined that its candidates would have "great chances" in the second round. Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (PNT-cd), opined that the majority group in parliament, the National Salvation Front, had lost three fourth of the votes they got in the general elections of May 1990. The National Salvation Front (FSN) leader, Petre Roman, said "the FSN has advantages over the group of parties in the Democratic Convention and over other parties" and added that part of the voters had not come to the polls and "the chances to win are linked to the transfer of votes and to further votes" for his party. In his turn, the vice chairman of the Civic Alliance Party (PAC) said the current political moment was one "of competition, of close fight and, equally, of balance." Referring to the results of the Democratic Convention in the first round of voting (45.94 percent), the chairman of the Romania Mare Party, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, said that in his opinion "the results were viciated by a dubious tenacity, by psychologic pressure and, last by not least, by the fraud committed by the representatives of the so-called Democratic Convention." Sergiu Cunescu, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Romania (PSDR), a member of the Democratic Convention, expressed his hope that in the second round "the course towards true democracy will deepen" and considered that the electorate "is finally" aware."

All the leaders the parties competing in the second round of voting—Radu Campeanu, Corneliu Coposu, Sergiu Cunescu, Stelian Tanase, Petre Roman—expressed confidence in the victory of the forces they represent in the local polls. The chairman of the Romania Mare Party—which left the race after the first ballot in Bucharest—warmly appealed "to the country's all sound forces" urging them "to halt the ascension of the extreme right" and recommending citizens to vote he political groups that oppose the Democratic Convention.

FSN Factions Meet To 'Overcome Mutual Distrust'

AU1502185892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] We have received a communique from the press bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN], which states that a meeting was held today at Bucharest's Dacia Club to prepare the political program of that political grouping on the eve of its 27-29 March 1992 convention.

In accordance with the statute provisions, the party's national leader requested the participation of political figures who represent the main opinion trends within the Front: Victor Babiuc, Ionel Blaga, Eugen Dijmarescu, Caius Dragomir, Marian Enache, Liviu Muresan, Vladimir Pasti, Corneliu Ruse, Vasile Secares, Adrian Severing, Ion Solcanu, and Ion Aurel Stoica. The participants expressed the desire to overcome mutual distrust, given the Front's nationwide responsibility. Setting out from the the common values that define the FSN as a political party in Romania, the sides agreed on the need to work out a national program for the FSN through effective cooperation among these trends.

UDMR Calls on Citizens for Understanding

AU1802151592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/2/1992—The presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, gathered in Brasov on February 15, decided, in the perspective of the second local ballot, to address a message to the Romanian electorate, message sent to ROMPRES for release.

We would first of all like to address our misinformed Romanian brothers who give credit to false propaganda. The UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] and the Hungarian population of the country are not enemies of the majority Romanian people. We consider Romania as our common homeland, our fate, future and goals being the same. On the same native land, Romanians and Hungarians, observing each other's national identity, can be happy only in freedom and democracy. Without you, we the minority have no chance of a better future—that is why we seek your understanding, friendship, alliance. We firmly believe that the interests of the Romanian people fully correspond to our interests.... We all must overcome our suspicions and understand each other's points of view, clarify all misunderstandings that drift us apart. To this end we must continue our dialogue to build up confidence further aspiring to rapprochement.

Beware of the communists not of the Hungarians since they oppressed both the Romanians and the Hungarians, the message reads in conclusion.

On the February 16, 1992 meeting in Brasov the National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania examined the events connected with the election of the mayor of Tirgu Mures and considers as necessary to express the following stand: It condemns the personal negligence demonstrated while gathering the signatures for the candidature of Laszlo Pokorny, independent mayor elected in Tirgu Mures; at the same time it confirms the fact that no deliberate illegality was made. It expresses the conviction that in a state of law the mayor cannot be elected by not taking into consideration the option of the majority of electors and, despite the electoral fail occurred outside their wish, the political wish of the majority of the citizens exercising their right to vote will assert itself in Tirgu Mures, a communique sent to the ROMPRES news agency reads inter alia.

Moldova's Snegur Gives Briefing on Iliescu Talks

AU1702162392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Gabriel Danescu from Otopeni International Airport on 17 February—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, as you know, Mr. Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, left today for an official visit to the United States. Before departing, he gave a brief news conference in the official hall of Otopeni Airport. Here are a few excerpts. Referring to his talks yesterday with President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan, and Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, President Snegur said:

[Snegur] Having stopped over in Bucharest on my way to the United States, last night I had a working meeting with President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Stolojan, and Foreign Minister Nastase. The meeting, which proceeded in the well-established framework of similar meetings between the leaders of Romania and Moldova, examined matters pertaining to bilateral relations and to solutions to problems raised during our talks Ungheni, that is, the creation of a free economic trade area, with the participation of Iasi County and of Ungheni and Nistoreni rayons, and improving the operation of the additional crossing points and border trade. We also discussed other issues regarding Moldova's future diplomatic ties with other countries and Romania's possible assistance in this respect.

Some interest was shown in the affairs of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and I informed Romania about current developments there and about the recent meeting in Minsk on economic and military matters. These were the subjects we tackled.

[Danescu] Referring to results he hopes to bring back from Washington, Mr. Snegur said:

[Snegur] My visit to the United States is the outcome of an understanding between the two sides, that is, of talks that have been going on for some time but which were successfully concluded during Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Moldova. We hope to come back home with a preliminary, maybe even definite, decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moldova and the United States. We also hope to make a start on cooperation between the two countries in various spheres. It is clear that there are fields in our national economy that must be modernized and updated, hence I believe that U.S. businessmen and investors could make a contribution here. Concerning relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, I believe that the U.S. authorities and President Bush would be keen to know our stand on this issue—therefore, I will brief them on our ties, which are good relations of integration and brotherhood.

[Danescu] Asked whether he broached the issue of the status of most favored nation for Moldova during his talks with Secretary of State Baker, President Mircea Snegur said:

[Snegur] Yes, we broached this subject, to a certain extent; however, we did not want to place too much emphasis on it at the very start of our dialogue, since before proceeding to concrete actions, Moldova should first be discovered, so to speak, by the U.S. experts and people. It is my feeling that Moldova left a positive impression upon Mr. Baker during his short say.

[Danescu] Concerning the way in which Chisinau [Kishinev] views relations between Bucharest and Minsk, in the wake of the recent visit to Romania of the Belarus foreign minister, the president of the Republic of Moldova said:

[Snegur] Chisinau looks very favorably upon these ties. I would like to tell you and the radio listeners that the Republic of Belarus—both within the framework of the CIS and of our bilateral relations—is considered a peace-loving republic and a country and partner very committed to strictly implementing all pledges assumed at a bilateral level. Therefore, I consider that such diplomatic ties and cooperation are advantageous to Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

Nastase, Kravchenko Hold News Conference on Visit

AU1402200392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/2/1992—In the brief speech made after the signing of the Romanian-Belarus documents foreign minister of the Republic of Belarus Petr Kravchenko said that negotiations with the Romanian side were productive as the whole gamut of bi- and multilateral problems had been surveyed.

Mr. Kravchenko stated inter alia it was not impossible that the Republic of Belarus take part in the Black Sea conference.

The call on President Ion Iliescu of Romania was an opportunity for the guest to extend to the Romanian head of state the invitation to pay a visit to the Republic of Belarus and the town of Minsk which plays the role of coordinator of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase referred in his address to the fact that the new relations established between Romania and the Republic of Belarus fell within the new European architecture now taking shape characterizing them as an element of reference in bilateral relations.

Answering questions asked by journalists the Belarus dignitary showed he agreed with the Romanian Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota that an accord on bilateral economic exchanges be worked out to be supplemented annually by a protocol which will impart a tangible framework to commercial programmes. He anticipated the major cooperation domains would be oil refining and machine building.

Setting forth the Belarus stand on the territorial litigation between the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, Mr. Kravchenko said the Moldovan authorities were the only competent ones to make a decision on that matter.

The Belarus chief diplomatist said his country was ready to establish diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. A delegation of the Republic of Belarus headed by the premier is to pay a visit to Israel. Direct flights will become operational between Minsk and Tel Aviv.

During the visit the foreign minister of the Republic of Belarus paid to Bucharest a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries and a protocol on periodical consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries were signed.

Federal

Committee Prepares for UN Forces Arrival

LD1802180392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Committee for Cooperation with U.N. representatives today defined 'concrete operational duties of federal, republican and local authorities in connection with the arrival and accommodation of the world organization peacekeeping forces,' as announced.

It was decided that the specified authorities form 'operational bodies which will directly and permanently be concerned with the current affairs and the solution of practical problems in the realization of the concept of the U.N. peace operation in Yugoslavia.'

The committee session was chaired by committee chairman Borisav Jovic, member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The U.N. Security Council, as is expected, might meet today to take a decision for the peace operation in Yugoslavia to begin, as recommended by U.N. Secretary General Butrus Ghali yesterday evening.

In a report whose text was distributed to the U.N. Security Council members, Butrus Ghali recommended that the 'United Nations protection forces' (UNPROFOR) mission immediately begin and that around 14,000 troops, policemen, and civilian staff take part in it.

The U.N. secretary-general has asked for a year-long mandate for the U.N. peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia. The mandate could be extended only under a new decision of the U.N. Security Council and at the recommendation of Butrus Ghali.

Member of the State Committee for Cooperation with U.N. representatives, retired Maj-Gen. Slavko Jovic has expressed the opinion that the 'Blue Helmets' will remain in Yugoslavia for quite a while.

'The U.N. peace-keeping forces will remain in Yugoslavia until the politicians responsible for the conflict either reach an agreement or step down,' Gen. Jovic said in an interview published in the Belgrade daily BORBA today.

Gen. Jovic was commander of the U.N. Iran-Iraq military observer group (UNIMOG).

Analysts Predict 'Inflationary Collapse'

LD1902035792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, February 18 (TANJUG)—Inflation in Yugoslavia in January—which ran at 26.1 percent up on the December figure—indicated that an inflationary collapse, as foretold by analysts, seemed around the corner.

The devaluation of the dinar, which the federal government announced on January 25, 1992, failed to "produce" any significant results on the retail prices, because the latter were formed under the so-called black market foreign currency exchange rate, which was much higher than the official one. The biggest devaluation in Yugoslavia—400 percent—also made the exchange rate of the German mark rise from 13 to 65 dinars.

The biggest rise in retail prices in January, according to the Federal Statistical Office, was recorded in Bosnia-Hercegovina—30.9 percent, followed by Montenegro—29.3 percent, Serbia—27.7 and Macedonia 26.2 percent.

In the secessionist Republic of Croatia, inflation ran at 28.8 percent in January, while in Slovenia, according to this republic's statistical office, was 10.2 percent. This figure, however, could not be confirmed by independent sources.

The estimates concerning the level at which inflation is expected to be checked at varies, and this was primarily tied in with the continuation of the war conflicts, blockade of circulation of goods of capital.

Experts say that with the monthly price rises running at 30 percent inflation could in December this year reach 2,200 percent. However, according to some, hyperinflation recorded in 1989—2,665 percent—could be exceeded by a large margin.

Last year, annual inflation in Yugoslavia was 235.2 percent, with an average mothly retail price growth of 10.6 percent.

The manner in which the secessionist republics were carrying out the disintegration of Yugoslavia's monetary system was also conducive to hyperinflation.

Slovenia and Croatia, which seceded from Yugoslavia through unilateral acts last year, introduced their own currencies. Slovenia, the tolar in early October and Croatia, the Croatian dinar in late December.

Macedonia announced the introduction of its own currency and leaving the Yugoslav monetary system, which is to be additional proof of its full independence and sovereignty.

The most elementary rules were not considered as the new currencies were being introduced, experts say. The so-called old dinars left after the exchange for the new currencies were finding their way to other parts of Yugoslavia, where they are still valid currency, and are being made into private and republican foreign currency reserves via the black market.

In this process, the country's foreign currency reserves were diminishing. Slovenia and Croatia have since last year completely stopped, and the other republics reduced, their payments into the federal treasury.

In late January this year, as National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) Vice-Governor Branko Dragas has stated, Yugoslavia's foreign currency reserves stood at around 2.9 billion dollars. A total of 2.4 billion dollars were at the NBJ.

Another half a billion dollars was at the commercial banks in Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. It is believed that a similar sum was at the commercial banks in Croatia and Slovenia.

The exporters entertain no great expectations from the devaluation, because they find it increasingly hard to come by foreign currency, and at the exchange rate higher than the official. In January this year, Yugoslav exports recorded 612 million dollars, or 29.9 percent less than in January 1991. Due to the narrowed Yugoslav economic space and insufficient quantity of export goods, exporters say, the initial effects of the devaluation could soon be wiped out due to the constant rise in prices which lead to hyperinflation.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

HDZ Offers Conditional Support for Referendum

LD1802174992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—The whole of Bosnia-Hercegovina is the natural territory and homeland for Croats as well as for Muslims and Serbs living in these areas. We therefore want those areas which, throughout this century and even today, have been occupied and usurped to be clearly delineated, Miro Lasic, member of the main board of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Hercegovina said at a press conference today.

Lasic went on to state that his party is ready to call on its membership and on the entire Croatian population of Bosnia-Hercegovina to vote for an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina providing there is a clear definition of Bosnia-Hercegovina's state-legal status and its administrative-territorial organization and that all three constitutive nations are guaranteed equality and equal status. State-guaranteed rights, according to Lasic, would be unalterable and would not depend on the size of any of the three nations. An agreement could be reached before the referendum takes place on 29 February and 1 March to provide for mutual guarantees of equality and equal status.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ today rejected as unfounded and inappropriate statements by some high-ranking Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] officers and by the "self-styled Branko Kostic" to the effect that the army will not leave Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to Miro Lasic, a decision about this will not be made by them but by Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens and nations through their democratically and legitimately elected representatives.

With reference to the resignation of Stjepan Kljuic, the Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ President, Lasic said that the resignation will be discussed at the party's convention to be convened by the party's leadership. A regular HDZ convention has been convened for 23 March.

Ethnic Serbs Say UN Plan Lacks Guarantees

AU1802125192 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] The Serbian nation was always in favor of peace and peacefully resolving problems unless when it was forced to defend its national pride, freedom, and its fatherland. This was a message sent from the meeting of the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian nation in Bosanska Krajina held in Bosanski Petrovac today.

The meeting was organized by the Bihac-Petrovac Eparchy, which is headed by Bishop Hrizostom.

It was assessed that the current split over Cyrus Vance's plan is justified, as the proposed solution does not provide sufficient guarantees for a peaceful and just solution of the conflict between Croatia and the Republic of the Serbian Krajina.

Croatia

Krajina 'Assembly' in Glina To Elect New President

AU1802160592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Dragan Dimitrijevic report from Knin]

[Text] The regular session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina started a few minutes ago in Knin. It was stated at the beginning that the session is being attended by 83 deputies out of a total of 159 so that there is a majority present.

Today's regular session is due to decide to outlaw the decision made in Glina on not carrying out a referendum and the decision, also made in Glina, on dismissing the president of the government and the president of the Assembly. [sentence as heard] This Assembly session, which has just started, is due to elect a new president and vice presidents of the Assembly, since today's session like earlier sessions is not being attended by President Paspalj, and to reshuffle the government.

The Assembly will also send an appeal to the UN, Dr. Butrus Ghali, and the Security Council in New York. The first article of the appeal states: The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is asking the Security Council and Mr. Butrus Ghali not to decide to deploy the UN peacekeeping troops in Krajina until the referendum that has been scheduled for 22 and 23 February has been held. The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is

also asking the UN to ensure that the Serbian nation of the Serbian Republic of Krajina has the right to self-determination.

The fourth article of this document is interesting as it says that the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has decided not to disarm the Territorial Defense, which remains as part of the defense of the Republic of Serbian Krajina under its command. Finally, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has decided that there is no need for organized armed opposition to the decision of the Security Council.

Knin Krajina 'Assembly' Session Adjourned

AU1802175492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Dragan Dimitrijevic report from Knin]

[Excerpts] Although begun as a regular session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, after opposition from deputies that a regular session implies that an agenda was submitted on time, which was not done on this occasion, the regular session was turned into a permanent session of the Assembly at the proposal of Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Republic. As Dr. Babic stressed, this was because of the complex, wartime situation in Krajina.

The debate on the proposed agenda, which a number of deputies opposed, thus came to an end. So, again at the proposal of Dr. Milan Babic, because the meeting of the Security Council began at 1600 [1500 GMT], a document was adopted that was urgently sent to the UN Security Council and Secretary General Dr. Butrus Ghali.

In the first point of the document, which was distributed to deputies prior to the session, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina asks the Security Council and Butrus Ghali not to make a decision on sending UN peacekeeping troops until a referendum is held. Again at the proposal of Dr. Babic, who read the document aloud, the first paragraph was scrapped because the government had decided before the Assembly session to postpone the referendum.

Thus, the Assembly started with the second point, which asks the United Nations to ensure that the Serbian nation in this region has the right to self-determination. The United Nations is also asked to ensure that the Republic of Serbian Krajina receives full [punopravni] status in the negotiations over the Yugoslav state and political crisis, either within the framework of the United Nations, which is a more acceptable solution, or within the framework of the EC, which is a satisfactory option.

As Dr. Babic mentioned, this would prevent Tudjman and Milosevic from possibly concluding some agreement to the detriment of the people of Krajina. [passage omitted]

The document does not bear the name or signature of the president of the Assembly, although the title of this post is printed at the bottom of the document. Let us mention that this session, like the previous one in Knin, is not being attended by Mile Paspalj, president of the Assembly, or the two vice presidents.

After the recess, the Assembly, which was attended by 83 out of 159 deputies, accepted the decision to postpone the referendum and the arrival of the peacekeeping forces with the main argument that most communes, especially the newly formed ones, do not at the moment have organized electoral rolls. However, a popular vote has not been totally ruled out.

Let us briefly explain some of the deputies' disagreement with the proposed agenda. It was proposed that all decisions made at the Assembly session in Glina on Sunday [16 February] should be rendered null and void. This related primarily to the decision to dismiss the government and the president of the Republic because, as Dr. Babic said, the decisions are at variance with the Constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and are therefore illegitimate. A new president and vice presidents of the Assembly were due to be elected today and the government reshuffled.

Since it was seen that this agenda was not acceptable, because the deputies said that this session lacked the necessary two-thirds majority, it was decided that this session resume on Friday [21 February] when the attendance of considerably more deputies is expected. [passage omitted]

Referendum on UN Forces Postponed

LD1802181692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, continuing its afternoon session in Knin, decided today to hold its next session on 21 February. This decision was made in view of the fact that the Serbian Krajina Assembly session in Knin had been proclaimed permanent. [As received] Today's session was postponed in view of the need for the unity of the Serbian people to be preserved and strengthened. The referendum was also postponed indefinitely. Before the session ended the deputies decided to postpone the referendum, during which the Krajina people are to express their views on Cyrus Vance's peace plan.

Originally the referendum was to have been held on 22 and 23 February. A letter addressed to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, adopted and forwarded to the United Nations by the assembly today, asks for blue helmets not to be sent to Krajina until the referendum has been held.

According to Uros Funduk, president of the Krajina Supreme Court, preparations for the referendum are at an advanced stage, but there are big problems about the compilation of electoral lists because owing to war

conditions in some municipal areas it is quite impossible to determine the number of electors, and there have also been major population shifts.

Paspalj News Conference on UN Troops, Babic

LD1802202192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—Mile Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, said today that the arrival of blue helmets would introduce peace, and he expressed his conviction that nobody would jeopardize their security on the territory of Krajina.

Addressing a news conference held in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade, Paspalj said that Milan Babic had been removed in a legal way. At the Krajina Assembly session held in Glina two days ago, 76 of 87 deputies present voted for his removal. Krajina's Assembly has 112 deputies and, according to the Constitution, a two-thirds majority is necessary for the removal and election of the president.

According to Paspalj, Babic was replaced not only as the president of the Republic and the government, but he was also dismissed from the position of supreme commander of Krajina's armed forces. According to Krajina's Constitution, Paspalj explained, the president of the Assembly performs these functions until a new president of the Republic and the government and the supreme commander have been elected.

Paspalj announced that a session of Krajina's Assembly, comprising representatives of the autonomous regions of Western Slavonia, and Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, would soon be held in Vukovar. At that session, the candidate for the position of prime minister will be nominated, and the procedure for the election of the new president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will be initiated.

Talking about the creation of institutions in Krajina, Paspalj assessed that changes had not been accompanied by an appropriate organization of work, especially of the government and its ministers, who are almost all from Knin. "This causes doubt in the objectivity and impartiality of these ministers. The impression has been created that somebody deliberately wanted to avoid the integration of all the segments of authority, economy, and social superstructure in order to more easily manipulate the people and institutions."

Paspalj described as absurd the fact that Milan Babic combined the positions of president of the Republic and of the Government of Krajina, as well as of Knin municipality, "where the same man is responsible to himself and appoints himself." He also termed illegal the fact that Babic proclaimed local communities as municipalities in order to have more representatives for the session of the Assembly he had organized in Knin.

Asked about Babic's claim that only 26 representatives at the Assembly in Glina voted for his replacement, Paspalj said that he has a good opinion about his "long-time friend," but that Babic, in his longing for power, is clutching at straws. "If Babic had been in Glina he would have seen how many people voted for his replacement." Paspalj confirmed that he met with Babic in Vojnic, the day before the Assembly in Glina, but that they could not reach an agreement.

"If we are not capable of organizing the government according to European and world criteria, then we are not capable of having a republic," he pointed out. Paspalj called for maximum economic aid from Serbia, and from the Federation he demanded "the introduction of political decision-making through the election of representatives to the Assembly of Yugoslavia" and that it should solve the question of citizenship on the territory of Krajina.

The arrival of the peacekeeping forces on the territory of Krajina, according to Paspalj, will create conditions for finding a political solution. With the democratic people of Croatia we can discuss the borders between Croatia and Krajina, Paspalj said, and stressed that no other solution could be considered except separation by a border between them, "even in the event of Croatia, influenced by international events, choosing to stay in Yugoslavia." Paspalj added that it is unfortunate that this had not been done immediately after World War II.

Paspalj said that the territorial defense, the police, and all of Krajina's people accept Vance's plan and that they are prepared to disarm. The people of Krajina are hospitable, especially toward those who are coming to protect them. The deployment of the peacekeeping forces, according to Paspalj, is supported by the presidents of all municipalities, except Knin.

Regarding the "Titograd agreement" between Serbia and Montenegro, Paspalj said it represented the beginning of constituting a new Yugoslavia. "If Serbia and Montenegro get together, then others who want a Yugoslavia have the chance to do so if their right to self-determination is respected." Paspalj said that the Serbian people in Krajinas will win the recognition of that right through their own and federal representatives.

Asked why he was holding the news conference in the Palace of the Federation, Paspalj replied that Krajina did not have money to pay for such conferences to be organized in the International Press Center. "This is our house, Yugoslavia, and we do not have to pay anything".

Commenting on Babic's statements regarding Milan Martic as "Milosevic's mercenary", Paspalj said that both himself and Martic showed on the first frontline just what the struggle for the interests of the Serbian people looked like. "He who keeps skeletons in the cupboard does not go to the first frontline so easily," Paspalj said. He refused to comment on Babic's allegations in connection with Martic's machinations with cars, labelling them as "insinuations."

He used the same qualifications for stories about "secret meetings with Slobodan Milosevic." "If the president of the Republic of Serbia and the president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina meet briefly in the Palace of the Federation, that is not bad, nor is it any secret meeting, because journalists and people who represent this palace are here."

"Is it true that your wife is employed by Belgrade Telvision?" To this question, Paspalj replied that on 30 August last year, his wife and two daughters were sent to stay with his sister in Pancevo, and that at that time his family did not have any financial means. "Then I met Krsto Bijelic, the then Belgrade Television editor, who offered my wife a job at Belgrade Television distributing mail, which she has been doing ever since".

Paspalj concluded the news conference by announcing that new elections would be organized when peace comes to this area.

Serbs Reportedly Running 'Concentration Camps'

LD1802201992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] On behalf of the Human Rights Committee of the Croatian Sabor, Neven Jurica has sent a letter to international human rights organizations in London, Washington and Vienna and to Lord Carrington informing them that about 200 people, mostly civilians, have been killed on the Croatian battlefront, since 3 January, the date when the last cease-fire was signed. The letter also informs them of further persecution [progon] of the Croatian and other non-Serb population in the occupied Croatian territories and of the fact that the Republic of Serbia is resettling these areas in an organized manner.

The letter also says: According to our information, concentration camps have been set up in the Republic of Serbia and in temporarily occupied territories, i.e. in Sremska Mitrovica, Nis, Knin, Plaski, Stara Gradiska and Glina, where Serbian authorities are maltreating and killing innocent people, mostly civilians, in inhumane conditions. According to available information there are at least such 50 such camps accommodating 5,969 Croats and other non-Serb citizens. In addition, according to our information 2,938 citizens have disappeared and there is no news whatsoever about them. Of the total number of POWS, 943 are Croatian soldiers. Most civilian prisoners are from Vukovar.

Testimony given by the people who managed to get out of the concentration camps suggests that the people there are subjected to slave labor without adequate food and many die as a result of physical injuries and malnutrition.

This all goes to show that international conventions and human rights, and especially the Geneva convention rights, are being violated in a most flagrant manner. For this reason we are asking you to use your authority to protect innocent lives and bring about the release of prisoners in Serbian concentration camps, because these camps are unworthy of European civilization.

Radio Director Resigns, Cites Censorship Decree

LD1602012192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1570 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Split, February 15 (TANJUG)—Director of Croatian Radio Tomislav Bakaric has resigned, the Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA said in an exclusive report today. Bakaric was appointed director of Croatian Radio immediately after the victory of the Croatian Democratic Union at the first multi-party elections in this Yugoslav republic in April 1990. This party is the main initiator of Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

SLOBODNA DALMACIJA said that Bakaric did not want to comment on his resignation. The daily quotes him as saying only that "all of this concerns only the house—Croatian Radio" and that "it is therefore not necessary to give an explanation to the public."

Ten days ago, Croatian Radio editor Mario Mihaljevic presented his "irrevocable resignation" to the Croatian Radio and Television, explaining that his action was a "protest on behalf of all reporters, who cannot raise their voices because they will get it over the head."

Speaking at a press conference on February 6, Mihaljevic said that he had begun considering resigning "three months ago when the censorship decree was passed." Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has signed a decree on censorship of all media in the republic.

"There have never been more bans," Mihaljevic told reporters, and pointed out: "It was easier for me to work during the period of communism than at present."

Relationship of Media, Parties Considered

LD1502182692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Commentary by Slavko Rako]

[Text] It is hard to say whether the political crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be solved before the referendum—at least on paper with an agreement by the three ruling parties. An answer to this question cannot be given even by the leaders of these parties, whose political programs do not secure the neutrality of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and who are unable to present them on equal footing to the Bosnia-Hercegovina public through the local media.

Relations with the army are conducted through Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. This will soon become an international matter. The relations between the legally elected government of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the media, primarily Radio-Television Sarajevo, should be an internal matter. These relations have been strained to the maximum in the last few days. The workers of Radio-Television Sarajevo have announced a general

strike for the end of this week if the parliament and the government of this republic do not help in overcoming the difficult financial situation. Even the trade union of this company is calling for a strike, saying that the republic organs are the founders of Radio-Television Sarajevo.

It is hard to expect a change in the stand of Radio-Television Sarajevo, especially if one knows the development of these relations since the elections. From the first day after the elections Radio-Television Sarajevo took an opposition stance and became the harshest critic of the new government. Individual journalists used the kind of language for which you could be taken to court. In short, the editorial team of Radio-Television Sarajevo demanded money from the parliament for not allowing a financier's influence on editorial policy.

In the post-election period there have been many discussions and negotiations. The republic sometimes gave the money, and in return the information about the activities of the ruling parties found their place only in the late news, mostly through agency news illustrated by a picture of Sarajevo. Then came calls for withholding subsription payments, the usurpation of the transmitters by some parties and allegedly unknown persons, and then recently the homage of the editorial team of Radio-Television Sarajevo to the command of the second military district, after which the generals started explaining their political stands in numerous programs on Radio-Television Sarajevo. For some time now the Serbian Democratic Party has disowned this kind of television, demanding its division into national programs. Recently the Croatian Democratic Community has also demanded such a division. The Democratic Action Party has been expressing support for Radio-Television Sarajevo and did so again at its news conference today. The latter is drifting farther from its partner parties.

After all this the question arises as to whether Radio-Television Sarajevo, JNA, and the Democratic Action Party have unified their political programs, because the political activities of the army and Radio-Television Sarajevo are obvious to almost everybody.

Draft Law on Parishes Detailed

92BA0486A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Aleksa Crnjakovic: "Seats for 17 Parish Governors"]

[Excerpts] When the "parish map of Croatia" comes before the Croatian population, it is difficult to believe that some people will not be dissatisfied. And even before the draft of the bill on the territory of parishes in the Republic of Croatia is drawn up, the sponsor has received numerous proposals whose purpose is to anticipate possible future troubles. For example, the people in Virovitica back in February of last year requested establishment of a Velika Virovitica Parish, appealing to tradition, i.e., to the fact that such a parish existed back in the 18th century and was even one of the oldest in Slavonia.

The people of Virovitica will be fortunate, because so far their proposal has gone through. By contrast with certain others who have not been lucky, not because the sponsor of the law would not have liked, for example, to establish an Island Parish as proposed by the opcina fathers on Krk, but because this is interdicted by various parameters—from demographic and transportation to historical or economic. What, for instance, speaks against the initiative to have the islands Cres, Losinj, Krk, Rab, Pag, Crikvenica, and Senj constitute a single island parish? First of all, their poor transportation connections, but also the small size of their population. What is more, who would be the basis of their business and economic development? So, these are the reasons why the islands were "broken up," and Cres, Losinj, and Krk were included in the Rijeka Parish, while Pag and Rab went to the Gospic Parish.

Three Electoral Units in Every Parish

Because this is only the draft of the law, perhaps during parliamentary procedure there will be changes. The proposal for the division of Croatia into parishes comes before the deputies in the next session of the Assembly on 13 and 14 February, and it is anticipated that the law would be passed in the March session. Without that law, the elections envisaged for the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia cannot be held. According to the provisions of the Constitution, the Assembly will have two chambers, a chamber of deputies and a chamber of parishes. Every parish would be divided into three electoral units in the upcoming elections, and in each one Assembly deputy would be elected to the chamber of parishes.

According to this draft, Croatia is divided into 17 parishes, and each consists of a certain, unequal number of opcinas. The proposed territorial division has been particularly careful that the parishes round out integral areas from the economic standpoint, that the opcinas within them have good transportation connections, and attention was paid to tradition, culture, and the social factors of the various regions. The draft of the law is very brief, it defines only the number and territories of the parishes, and it states who can initiate proceedings to establish, abolish, or merge parishes. This can be done by citizens or opcina bodies in the region for which the change is being requested, but also by interested parish bodies. The demand may be submitted by a minimum of 10 percent of the citizens on voter lists or one-third of the citizens in the parish representative body, i.e., the representative body of the interested opcina.

Where are the 11 opcinas with a majority Serb population "to go"? Although there were some reflections to the effect that they should constitute a single parish with Knin as its seat, this was not done. That is, those opcinas do not constitute a single entity from the standpoint of

geography and transportation, but we assume that economic reasons nevertheless did influence the final decision. That is, this is an exceptionally underdeveloped region which can hardly experience economic prosperity. That is why it is more advisable and worthwhile for those opcinas that they be "connected" with advanced regions. That is why Knin, for example, has been put in the Sibenik Parish, along with Sibenik and Drnis, Benkovac and Obrovac, quite logically, have been put in the Zadar Parish, together with Biograd, Donji Lapac, and Gracac. Titova Korenica is in the Gospic Parish. [passage omitted]

On the basis of population, the smallest parish will be Gospic, with only slightly more than 90,000 inhabitants, and the largest Zagreb, with more than 950,000. On the basis of area, the smallest is Krapina, extending over only 1,480 square kilometers, and the largest is Gospic, with 4,899 square kilometers.

The unnecessary temperature rise which could occur in the debate over the territory of the parishes might be reduced by an explanation of the content of what the parishes do. That is, the opcinas are the basis of local autonomy, not the parishes, which play the role of a link between the local administration and that of the state. The real power is nevertheless in the opcinas, not in the parishes. As stated in the draft of the bill on local autonomy, the jurisdiction of the parish includes primarily those local matters which outgrow the territory of the opcina in their importance and which are of common interest to a broader area constituting a natural, economic, and social community.

Four-Year Term of Office

The representative body of citizens in the parish is the parish assembly. The total number of members of the parish assembly may not be less than 51, nor greater than 101, and the term of office of the members is four years. The assembly is headed by the parish governor (zupan) and the podzupan is his deputy. They are elected by the parish assembly, subject to subsequent confirmation of the government of Croatia. If the government does not confirm the election of the governor and deputy governor, the parish assembly must within 30 days of rejection of confirmation of their election hold a new election, and until that time their duties are performed by commissioners of the government. The parish governor is required to convene a meeting of the parish assembly if this is requested by one-fourth of its members, if this is requested by the assembly of an opcina within the parish, or if it is requested by a body of the central state administration responsible for overseeing the lawfulness of the proceedings of the bodies of the units of local autonomy. The term of office of the parish governor is four years, but they also may be dismissed before that time if the parish assembly so demands, but it subsequently must obtain the confirmation of the government of Croatia, and the government may seek dismissal before the end of the term.

The parish committee is the executive body of the parish, and it consists of no less than 11 and no more than 15 members, elected by the parish assembly. Every opcina must be represented by its representative on that committee, which executes the decisions of the parish assembly, prepares the proposed versions of decisions, sees to the operating conditions [of the assembly], manages the real estate and other property owned by the parish and its income and expenditures. The parish committee and each of its individual members is accountable to the parish assembly, and the procedure for ascertaining accountability may be initiated by the parish governor, at least one-fourth of the members of the parish assembly, or the assembly of any opcina within the parish.

The Government Dissolves the Parish Assembly

The government of Croatia may dissolve the assembly if it does not perform the functions provided for in law, if in its decisions it violates the Constitution and other laws, if it adopts decisions threatening the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia. The Constitutional Court of Croatia may nullify a decision of the government. When the parish assembly is dissolved, the government of Croatia appoints its commissioner to perform functions within the jurisdiction of the parish, and he supervises and gives orders to the parish departments. But the competent republic body is required within three months to schedule new elections for the parish assembly. There have been objections, and there probably will be more of them. Back on Saturday, people from Medjumurje arrived with their petition to see Dr. Domljan, president of the assembly. Back in January of last year, people from Sibenik sent a pro memoria with a request that the Sibenik Parish, in addition to Sibenik, also include Drnis and Knin. The pro memoria coincided with the proposal that is going before the deputies. Last year, the people from Krizevci requested their own parish. It is interesting that establishment of the parish system way back in 1886 on the territory of what then was the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia established the Bjelovar-Krizevci Parish with its seat in Bjelovar, just as is being proposed today. [passage omitted]

New proposals will certainly be coming in before the session of the assembly. In the end, someone will still have to make his way among the differing interests, but always to Croatia's advantage.

Macedonia

News Agency To Be Established

LD1802215192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Skopje, February 18 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on Tuesday adopted a decision on the founding of a national news agency. The founder of the MACEDONIAN NEWS AGENCY, or MIA, is the Macedonian Parliament.

The parliament said the aim of founding a state agency was to objectively inform the domestic and international public of developments in that republic.

MIA is the third news agency to be formed in the past year on the territory of Yugoslavia, divided by the unilateral secession of several republics.

Slovenia and Croatia founded state news agencies—STA and HINA—even before they unilaterally proclaimed their secession from Yugoslavia in June last year.

The founding of MIA follows Macedonia's decision last December to request recognition from the European Community without waitig for a final agreement on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The E.C. did not recognize Macedonia's independence because of opposition from Greece.

Athens considers that the new state should change its namd since the present one indicates Macedonia's territorial claims towards the Greek region of the same name.

Macedonia has so far been recognized only by Bulgaria and Turkey, but the republic has already decided to withdraw its officials from the Yugoslav Federation and officers from the Yugoslav Army and has introduced a special regime of traffic for military vehicles.

The Yugoslav Presidency last week adopted a decision on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Macedonia.

'Near-Money' Issued Until New Currency Ready

LD1402202692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Ohrid, Yugoslavia, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—The Macedonian press reports today that Macedonia has issued near-money to replace the Yugoslav dinar until a Macedonian currency has been set up.

According to the BITOLJSKI VESNIK and PRILEPSKI GLAS papers, a 40-ton shipment of near-money left the Prilep printing house on February 5 "in the utmost secrecy and under heavy police escort". The near-money has already been distributed to Macedonian banks, the papers say.

It will be put into circulation when the government says so, and this may be expected very soon, they add.

The Belgrade daily BORBA quotes well-informed sources as saying that one unit of the Macedonian near-money will equal one dinar.

Macedonia applied to the European Community for international recognition late last year and is now making hurried preparations for a total secession from Yugoslavia. The republic has recently decided to set up its own army and monetary system.

Macedonian Deputy Premier Becir Zuta said today that the government was investing efforts to place the future Macedonian currency on exchange lists. The breakaway Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia have already introduced their own currencies—the tolar and the Croatian dinar.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the forces which urge the republic's sececession from Yugoslavia also insist that it should issue its own money—the kulin.

Montenegro

Opposition Meeting Said To Threaten Security

LD1502214192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Titograd, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The meeting for sovereign Montenegro, announced for 22 February, which is being organized by the United Opposition of this republic on the same day that the Montenegro Assembly will be holding its session, threatens a normal discussion on the forthcoming referendum and does not contribute to a final decision in a democratic manner.

This is the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party of Montenegro, which today issued a public statement in which it says that in the present, practically wartime conditions, the meeting of the opposition represents a threat to security and civil peace in the republic. [passage omitted]

Opposition Proposes Referendum

AU1502203792 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Dino Ramovic report]

[Text] The public debate on the referendum in Montenegro and the Titograd model of a joint state between Serbia and Montenegro is getting more and more intense and will come to a head on 22 February when a session of the parliament and a rally by the associated democratic opposition are scheduled for the same time and the same place. However, it is difficult to believe that these two major events—one in the Assembly building and one outside it—will be held at the same time.

This was pointed out today by the Democratic Party, which considers this to be opposition pressure on the democratic decision-making process in the Assembly because the parliament will be discussing the scheduling of the referendum. As leaders of the ruling party have been announcing in the last few days, it will be held as early as 1 March, even though this speed is not in line with the election law.

According to some sources, the opposition will participate in the parliamentary debate on the referendum but

it will not take part in making the decision because it does not want to share responsibility for this question with the ruling party.

Srdjan Darmanovic, vice president of the Socialist Party, put forward on local radio today the latest proposal by the opposition that a referendum be held in Serbia with the same question as that of the referendum in Montenegro. This would determine the will of the people in Serbia as to whether they want to live in the kind of joint state that is being proposed in the Titograd agreement.

It is obvious that the Montenegrin democratic opposition is coordinating some of its activities with the Serbian democratic opposition. This could be the reason for the ruling party's hurry in holding the referendum in Montenegro before the announced March events in Belgrade.

Opposition Views on Referendum

92BA0508F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by D. Becirovic: "Party Skirmishes Before Referendum in Montenegro: Muslims, Albanians, Communists, Reformists Together in Cetinje"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Extremists have already separated Plav and Gusinje from Montenegro. What Slavko Perovic offers. Dispute over who has the right to vote: only citizens, or both citizens and subjects. Appeal to soldiers to return home.

Titograd, 2 Feb—The referendum has yet to be scheduled, and no one even knows when it will be scheduled. Montenegro is already aflame. The opposition parties are already fired up and foaming at the mouth to such an extent that even now it is clear that the appeal by the Montenegrin parliament and the call by the president of the Presidency, Momir Bulatovic, for reason and a gentlemanly presentation of arguments in an interpartisan appearance are nothing but shots into the void.

Because at the very outset of the prereferendum campaign, or rather the final formulation of the question, dirty blows are being dealt on all sides, both to the flank and to the head. Only the ruling party is calmly and coolly defending the proposed question to be directed at the citizens.

Who Signed Statement

The first major prereferendum demonstration was held yesterday in Cetinje in front of the palace of King Nikola. The purpose of scheduling a gathering in front of the royal palace, on the square that otherwise does not bear the king's name, was to elevate the importance of the gathering. However, the many speeches, accompanied by a few banners, did not exactly sound respectable in front of the respectable royal residence. Thus, the main speaker, Slavko Perovic, concluded the rally, which was attended by more than a thousand people from Cetinje and from all over Montenegro, with the words: "I am here to inform Slobodan Milosevic that Montenegro is not a mirage, nor can it be a patch on the dirty gown of his policy. The fate of Montenegro will not be decided in the smoke-filled atmosphere of poker-playing political parties. The fact that we support a sovereign Montenegro is in no sense anti-Serbian.... The Montenegrin and Serbian nations are being held captive by a regime similar to the one that stretched out the barbed wire at Tiananmen Square.... Now, the scoundrel is he who calls others scoundrels. A sovereign and autonomous Montenegro is an opportunity for us to return to the embrace of the contemporary world...," exclaimed Slavko Perovic, upon which he raised both arms and began to sing the Montenegrin "autonomous" anthem. He was interrupted by applause and an ovation from a small group of 50 or so flushed "junior" young people, who raised their arms in the new salute: an extended thumb and index finger.

The young people were wearing headgear resembling ski caps, and on them were white badges bearing the words "We will not give you up, Montenegro." In this sort of atmosphere, adorned with old Montenegrin flags with the red and white two-headed eagle, the rally also presented a "statement on a sovereign Montenegro." This statement notes first of all that an autonomous and sovereign Montenegro is the only political reality, while "we understand a sovereign Montenegro to mean the absolute, inalienable, unexpirable, and indivisible right of its citizens to freely, autonomously, and democratically decide on all issues of internal relations within their state, as well as relations between Montenegro and other subjects governed by international law."

The statement says that they accept the Hague Declaration and that they call on the citizens of Montenegro to return home from all armed forces that are located outside Montenegro. The rally acknowledged the sovereignty of all former Yugoslav republics, called for international recognition for Montenegro, and committed itself to a demilitarized and neutral Montenegro. The statement was signed by opposition parties: the Liberal Alliance, the Alliance of Reformists of the Montenegrin Coast, the Independent Organization of the LC [League of Communists], the Yugoslav National Party, the Socialist Party of Montenegro, the Party of Socialists, the Party of National Equality, the Social Democratic Party, and the Democratic Coalition.

In this way, an independent Montenegro was "created" yesterday in Cetinje. In other parts, as well as in Cetinje, many people are commenting today that through this act yesterday in Cetinje, the signers have endangered positions for their own policy even more.

What Is Being Planned From the North

Among the signers at the Cetinje gathering were many leading figures of the Muslim-Albanian party coalition, who arrived ready "to defend Montenegro."

For now, their enemies are Serbs, or even Montenegrins.

In the meantime, below Visitor, from the snowy Prokletije Mountains, a new political climate is spreading old bone-chilling theories. People are gripped by fear. Some have already been awakened by the dream of a Greater Albania and are now irrepressibly coming to their senses. Pictures are flashing through their heads like postcards: Sandzak, Albania, Turkey, Constantinople.

Their slogan has already been disclosed: All Muslims come together, struggle against Serbia, and especially against "ringleader Slobodan Milosevic." A slightly gentler blade for all those in Montenegro who want Montenegro to be together with and equal to others in Yugoslavia who want the same thing.

Titograd's POBJEDA is almost unable to keep track of the multitude of Muslim extremist missionaries from Novi Pazar, Sarajevo, Rozaj, Bijelo Polje, Pristina, Skopje. They are hurrying to help their "threatened brothers in Plav and Gusinje." But the "threatened brothers," the public is informed, are already announcing that "Montenegro extends up to the bridge over the Lim. Across the lake, from that side, and across the bridge over the Lim—Albania or Turkey." It makes no difference—the important thing is that it is not Montenegro. While these party positions are being presented publicly around Plav and Gusinje, their leading figures "take an oath to a sovereign Montenegro" at the gathering in Cetinje and "dream" of it only.

Question of All Questions

On the other hand, at gatherings of the ruling party throughout Montenegro, as well as among many citizens (judging from polls already conducted by POBJEDA radio, and television), the prevailing opinion is that the ruling party, or rather the Assembly, has formulated the question for the referendum to measure. Admittedly, some think that it could have been done without the word "sovereign." To refresh your memory: The question asks whether you are in favor of Montenegro, as a sovereign republic, continuing to exist in a common state, completely equal to the other republics who want to do so.

There are also opinions to the effect that the referendum is not even necessary (National Party), and there are also plenty to whom all of this is unclear, so that it is questionable whether they will even show up for the referendum.

There are many people who would go to vote but who, under the provisions of the Law on Referendums, cannot do so, because even though they were born in Montenegro, they no longer live there. Only those who have been permanent residents of Montenegro for at least the past three months can participate in the referendum. Interpretations of this law vary, even among legal experts with high titles and positions.

Let us look at the opinion set forth several days ago by the dean of the Titograd Law School, Dr. Blagota Mitric:

"According to the rules and principles of international law, whenever you are dealing with a fateful issue for a nation and its state, then under no circumstances can you overlook the citizens of that state or the subjects of that state when asking people to express their opinion, regardless of whether they are living there at the moment. All the more so since we, as the state of Yugoslavia and as the state of Montenegro, a federal unit thereof, are a state of emigrants in which the citizenship of the person in question is always decided regardless of where that person is situated."

The referendum has only just begun, but it is "ablaze" on all sides: from the question to the voting: Who has the right, and who does not....

United Opposition Supports Sovereignty

92BA0481A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 92 p 5

[Article by Dragoljub Vukovic: "Against a Third Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Titograd—"An independent and sovereign Montenegro is the only political reality that makes it possible for citizens of Montenegro to get out of the present political crisis and take their destiny in their own hands. By the sovereignty of Montenegro we mean the absolute, inalienable, perpetual, and indivisible right of its citizens to regulate freely, independently, and democratically all aspects of internal relations within their state as well as relations of the state of Montenegro with other entities under international law."

This is the first part of the Declaration on Sovereign Montenegro, a document adopted by acclamation of what journalists estimate to be nearly 7,000 people attending a rally on Cetinje, which was organized on Saturday by the United Opposition of Montenegro. That political will that wants to see Montenegro be made a sovereign state once again and does not want to leave it to the destiny of a "currency spent as small change by failed policies and ruined regimes" (Novak Klisic, Socialist Party) was concentrated and expressed on the square in front of King Nikola's Palace, cleared of the deep snow for this occasion at the expense of the rally's organizers.

"Arguments on behalf of Montenegrin identity that we might extract exclusively from history ought no longer to excite anyone particularly. Especially because in a history that has been mostly mythologized and ideologized there are also points of support for breaking down Montenegrin self-awareness," warned Miodrag Vukmanovic, journalist and newspaperman and member of the leadership of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro..

Vukmanovic responded to accusations of separatism with the view that "separatism in Montenegro has never crossed

the line of necessary defense, and as such it is natural and legitimate," and he recommended to the accusers: "The fact that a state designed by the unitarist formula has twice fallen apart means nothing to those gentlemen. They will stick to their own line until they arrive at a Yugoslavia consisting of Dedinje and environs."

"Thank you, gentlemen, for a third Yugoslavia for a thousand and one reasons, but only one is sufficient to expose the intention of creating that new structure. We realize, that is," said Slavko Perovic, leader of the Montenegrin Liberals, "that the state being made by the two Kostices, one Jovic and one Bajramovic," that the state which also is "founded on a scorched Vukovar and a trampled Dubrovnik cannot be a happy one. Neither the Serbian nor Montenegrin people will have such a state, even Montenegrin Muslims and Albanians will not have such a state. That kind of newly composed state community does not guarantee equal life of Albanians and Muslims, Hungarians, and others, nor even Montenegrins," said Djerdj Djokaj, representative of the Democratic Coalition.

Miodrag Marovic, president of the Alliance of Reformers of the Montenegrin Coast, is afraid of what the peace will bring in a state such as they intend for us.

The way out, he feels, lies in a sovereign Montenegro.

Instead of that kind of Yugoslavia, the United Opposition of Montenegro sees a new South Slav community as an alliance of sovereign states.

In what kind of community will Montenegro be, Zarko Rakcevic, M.A., president of the Party of Montenegrin Socialists, said, without barriers both toward Serbia and toward the big city of Sarajevo and Dubrovnik...?

[Box, p 5]

Declaration

The Declaration on a Sovereign Montenegro states that the sovereignty of Montenegro is based on the ethnic and governmental interests of its citizens, which are: peace; democracy based on the rule of law; a market economy; economic, social, and cultural prosperity; ethnic and religious respect and tolerance; environmental protection; development in keeping with present-day ethical norms and technical and technological standards; openness of the borders of the state of Montenegro; and cooperation in every way with all peoples and states that desire this on the principles of full equality, mutual respect, and mutual benefit.

Because achievement of these goals and pursuit of these interests are of vital importance to the citizens of Montenegro, but also have broader fundamental importance, the Declaration seeks international support and recognition of Montenegro as an entity under international law and its acceptance as a member of the EC, the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, and the United Nations. The documents of the Hague Conference and the peace plan of the United Nations are accepted at the same time.

All citizens of Montenegro who are in the armed forces outside its borders are called to return home, the sovereignty of all former Yugoslav republics that seek it is recognized, and emphasis is put on the commitment that Montenegro be a demilitarized and neutral state. It was also emphasized that only a sovereign Montenegro could make decisions on an equal footing concerning the forms and content of its participation in a new Yugoslav community. The Unified Opposition will wholeheartedly favor such a community only after establishment of permanent peace and after democratic elections and new bodies of government are instituted. The decisions that would be adopted before that, in haste and as fear and hunger spread, under the threat of military force, or any other outside pressures and blackmail, will be considered illegitimate.

Serbia

Vuk Drasovic Interviewed on Hungarian Relations

LD1702235592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, by correspondent Vilmos Kovacs in Budapest; date not given; Draskovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kovacs] Before your visit to Hungary you said that you were not satisfied with the state of Serbian-Hungarian relations. What should be done, in your view, to improve them?

[Draskovic] The reason I am dissatisfied with the relations is not because they are fatally bad but because they are not the best. [passage omitted] What should be done? This is precisely what we held friendly discussions about with the representatives of the National and Ethnic Minority Office. Everything has to be done so that neither the Magyars in Serbia nor the Serbs in Hungary should feel like guests. They have to be the landlords. Not a single one of their rights must be endangered, which means that in minority issues we have to attain the scale of the most democratic states of Europe and the world. I stated that I do not accept the expression mother country. For the Magyars of Serbia, Serbia is the mother country and Magyardom the mother nation. For the Serbs who live here, naturally, this state is the mother country and the Serbian people the mother nation.

[Kovacs] The Belgrade leadership is demanding that Serbs living in neighboring countries have rights which it does not grant to its own minorities. What would you do, let us say, if you were leader of Serbia?

[Draskovic] I don't know what Serbian minorities you have in mind. I have to say to you what I already mentioned to my negotiating partners today: The Milosevic regime has not violated nor endangered the rights of any Serbian minority as much as that of the Serbian democratic opposition. We are the victims, first and foremost. In Milosevic's Serbia, for example, the Magyar minority enjoys national rights such as few European states grant to their minorities. At the same time, we demand maximum rights for the Serbs, for example in Hungary, and we urge autonomy based on personal principles. Here our national minority is small; for that reason it is not possible to create territorial autonomy. I have to add that at the time of the Yugoslav civil war not a single Serbian Croat was harmed, not a single Croat house was destroyed, and they were not hounded out of the schools, either, just because they were Croats. This is not to the credit of the Milosevic regime but is thanks to the traditions of the Serb people; because the Serbs cannot hate.

[Kovacs] It seems as if it was a different situation in Baranja.

[Draskovic] There was a war there. Special circumstances prevailed there, of which the Serbs and Croats must be equally ashamed. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Many people allege that Milosevic and Tudjman, the Serbian and Croat presidents, have concluded a secret agreement about population exchange. What do you know about this?

[Draskovic] People say all sorts of things in Yugoslavia. However, I cannot speak about what I cannot prove irrefutably. There are such rumors. It is a fact that Tudjman and Milosevic have met many times and that these discussions were always secret. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] What is your opinion about the demand of the VMDK [Democratic Community of Magyars in Vojvodina] that they be given territorial autonomy and autonomy based on the personal principle in Vojvodina?

[Draskovic] I know Mr Agoston. I hold him in high esteem, both as an intellectual and as a (?calm) person. Precisely for this reason, at times, I am surprised at him. I don't understand why he has to equate the tomfooleries of the Serbian power with the intentions of the Serbian people. If I did the same thing, I would have to hate my own people and myself. Apart from this, I do not predict a big future for the parties organizing on a national basis, because if only one nation can get a place in a party, then I am afraid there is something wrong with the democratic principles. Fortunately, the Serbian Renaissance movement has several thousand members of other nationalities as well, Magyars included.

[Kovacs] You recently stated that you and your party accept the UN plan. What does this mean?

[Draskovic] It means that the plan offers peace. [passage omitted] Naturally, Mr Vance's plan is not perfect, but at the present moment this is the most that the Serbs and the Croats and the entire Balkan peninsula can get. Because if a total war were to erupt in Yugoslavia, that could rapidly engulf the whole peninsula and could spread to the Russian region as well. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] In Serbia the opposition is growing stronger. Why?

[Draskovic] We are (?competing against) the Serbian power, because the program of the opposition groups is becoming more and more well known and more and more people are joining the ranks of the opposition. Apart from this, because the Serbian people are beginning to awaken from the long deception.

[Kovacs] The anniversary of the Belgrade demonstrations held on 9 March two years ago is approaching. Are you planning any new action on this day?

[Draskovic] We would like to hold a peaceful demonstration to exert pressure on the Serbian regime to fulfill those demands on which the future of Sebian democracy depends. We would like to save Serbia. We want to safeguard the nation and the state from being thrown into the abyss by the present regime. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Contrary to this, the power in Serbia has taken yet another step in the direction of centralization, since it has set up new districts. What is your opinion about this?

[Draskovic] Look, this is the picture: The president of the republic appoints a government and the government appoints the governors for the districts. This brings about a tragic diminution of democracy and the sphere of authority of local administration. Our plans are entirely different.

[Kovacs] What are they?

[Draskovic] We plan a modern European Serbia consisting of regions and resembling France, the United States, Sweden, or Great Britain. Above all, economic laws would prevail, because these are ancient laws and stand above the transient political laws. Politics bring about only misfortune, which is best proved by the Yugoslav agony.

[Kovacs] Would your Serbia be a nation-state?

[Draskovic] Serbia would be the state of the Serbs and the citizens of every people living here. Because, as I have said, no one should feel himself to be a guest in democratic Serbia. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] How much time do you give the present regime?

[Draskovic] I trust that Serbia will be a democratic state already this year, and what is more a constitutional monarchy.

Democratic Party Clarifies Stance on Babic

AU1802180092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] The Democratic Party does not intend to provoke bloodshed nor bring down the government illegally. This was said at a news conference given by this party. Dragan Stavljanin has just returned from there:

[Begin Stavljanin recording] Speaking about the comments being made in the media to the effect that the Democratic Party is collecting signatures for the scheduling of elections for a constituent assembly and the replacement of the president of the Republic of Serbia because it wants to violently and illegally bring down the government and cause bloodshed,, party leader Dragoljub Micunovic said that it has been a 200-year old civilized achievement that the people elect their authorities and call them to account. After alll, as Micunovic stressed, this is written in the Constitution of Serbia.

Members of the Democratic Party do not have one single revolver, and therefore they cannot cause bloodshed, Micunovic stressed.

Otherwise, Mihajlo Kovac said that the petition has so far been signed by 200,000 citizens. The action is going without any major problems, although there have been sporadic provocations, Kovac said and added that this petition has no time limit.

The main demand is actually the scheduling of elections for a constituent assembly, Radoslav Stojanovic, vice president of the Democratic Party, said.. This is because, as he put it, such important issues like the position of Serbia and setting up associations with other republics cannot be decided only by the president of the republic. Stojanovic also thought that the president of the republic had overstepped his already great powers by deciding on war or peace, which is in the jurisdiction of the Assembly, thus creating obstacles to a quicker process of democratization and the stabilization of the present circumstances, Stojanovic stressed.

As Dragoljub Micunovic said, the Democratic Party will not take part in organizing the 9 March demonstration. This will depend on talks with the other opposition parties and representatives of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and, if the safety of citizens is not guaranteed, then the Democrats will not go to the aforementioned gathering, Micunovic said. [end recording]

Albanians Against Planned 'Serbian Hegemony'

LD1402162592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Pristina, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—The Titograd agreement on the creation of a common Serbian-Montenegrin state—in the view of one of the leaders of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski savez Kosova-DSK], put forward at today's news conference, "is a typical surrogate of the several-times-over defeated Serbian hegemony and the hegemony of state-building [drzavotvorni] nations."

"A creation with secured Greater Serbian supremacy is unacceptable for Albanians. Serbia cannot introduce Kosovo, i.e. what does not belong to it, into such a state," said DSK Vice President Fehmi Agani. He thinks that the haste in passing such a decision causes resistance and prevents annexation to such a community. Asked whether DSK members would sign the Democratic Party proclamation, he gave a negative reply but did not rule out the possibility that Albanians may be among its signatories. [passage omitted].

Macedonian 'Militant Tones' Toward Serbians

92BA0508A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 92 p 7

[Article by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Guerrilla Era"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Macedonia's ambitions may be its own business, but amidst a significant tempering of the militant tones directed primarily at the Army and its own citizens of Serbian nationality.

Macedonian policy towards the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] already contains a very large number of elements of the notorious "Bulgarian syndrome." Besides the announcement that the southern republic is reverting, in the military sense, to its own guerrilla-oriented prehistory, the attitude of the current political leadership towards the position of the Federal Army there is at the very least ridden with primitive political posturing and strongly orchestrated Serbophobia. At the same time that official hatred of the north is being unveiled, enormous fear of other neighbors is being demonstrated as well. If anxiety about national survival in an encirclement between Bulgaria, Greece, and the very biologically productive Albania is justified, then arrogance towards Serbia and the Army borders on first-class political stupidity.

In developing a general position towards the Federal Army, use has been made of the Slovene-Croatian model, for now without any real, significant incidents, but accompanied by an even more primitive lexicon. At the same time, official odium is being stirred up through totalitarian control over the public media, in which there are unconcealed and extremist pro-Sofia intonations. The strangest thing is the bungling inconsistency of the Macedonian authorities. Supposedly, the Army bothers them and must go. This was announced by Vasil Tupurkovski in July of last year, after it was decided that the JNA would leave Slovenia. Immediately thereafter, the Macedonians began to keep their recruits at home, without any intention of providing a single dinar to finance general defense. All of this was explained with the neo-separatist theory "that the war is not theirs," while popular bitterness towards fascism after the death

of Pvt. Gesovski in Split was used to consolidate the alliance with Tudjman's ruling clique.

When the Army, having learned its lesson "about the love of the people for the military" from the tragic mistake in Slovenia, decided to go ahead and leave Macedonia before lethal hatred developed, the authorities there turned the dolman of their anti-Serbianism inside out and demanded that the "Serbo-army," which was in fact still full of Macedonian officers, continue to guard the Macedonian borders as an "occupying force." In this way, the JNA would have been transformed into an unpaid mercenary army, without any rights whatsoever but with very serious obligations. But this was not to be. Despite the continuous, pathetic affectation regarding its "impoverishment" due to the departure of migrant workers, Macedonia—without any tact or dignity whatsoever—expects a significant profit from the division of assets, even though there are reliable data indicating that the federation, in part through the Army, invested many times more money there than it got back.

To a certain extent, the example of Macedonia and its not exactly unexpected "Bulgarian digression" casts further doubt over the idea of the Army withdrawing from any place where the people so desire. The practice of leaving upon discovering a lack of love would be utterly reasonable if it were not for the fact that, in the case of the Army, there are categories of strength. But that is a thing of the past, just like the Yugoslav borders defined at Jajce. The new ones, which have not been demarcated anew or defined, and for which guard responsibilities have not been clearly specified, still lie in the realm of constitutive conjecture. The concept of some sort of new Yugoslavia that was formulated in the fall resembles previous five-year plans: Even if realized, it does not necessarily mean much. Until then, we have to live in a phase of total uncertainty, and of possible military-political chaos. Macedonia's ambitions may be its own business, but amidst a significant tempering of the militant tones directed primarily at the Army and its own citizens of Serbian nationality.

The hatred of official Macedonia for Yugoslavia is a naive projection of Serbophobia, while the local communication system attributes the potential for general misfortune in the future almost exclusively to the northern neighbor and the Army's alleged budgetary gluttony. In this way, the circle is closed definitively, and the "military retreat" is subject only to national and territorial limits. Only quickly defining the Serbian state could eliminate the ominous theory that the Yugoslav Army is returning to the territory of the Serbian nation, because then a reform of the Army would take an inevitable territorial, as well as national, form. Sustaining an obstinate, unilateral, and sterile Yugoslav orientation, despite everything, results in a further waste of energy and an unnecessary diffusion of the Serbian state and its potential armed strength. The current concept of "progressive truncation" could, even in the near future, prove to be military-political masochism of the worst kind. Perhaps a third Yugoslavia, but before that it is necessary to look at Serbia, which could make do without it in every regard.

Slovenia

U.S. Not To Recognize Slovenia

LD1902074292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0620 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Washington, Feb 19 (TANJUG)—The United States has refused to give diplomatic recognition and trade facilities to Slovenia, it appears from a statement released by the U.S. State Department on Tuesday evening.

The State Department statement, released after a talk between Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger [title as received] and Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrije Rupel, indicates that Eagleburger told Rupel that a diplomatic recognition and trade facilities were still being considered.

Eagleburger praised Slovenia for what he described as its substantial headway towards a free market economy and democracy.

The U.S. secretary of state stressed that the U.S. would not support any solution to the Yugoslav crisis reached through territorial changes effected by force or under pressure. He reiterated Washington's support for the peace conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington.

The State Department statement further says that Rupel reiterated Slovenia's wish to support the peace process in Yugoslavia and gave assurances that Slovenia would continue to play an active part in the efforts for a comprehensive political solution in keeping with the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

State Assembly Adopts Proportional Represention

AU1802201492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] The Republican Constitutional Commission decided today that an expert group will start compiling the electoral legislation, which will be based on the proportional representation system. Prior to the debate on electoral legislation, the members of this commission resolved some problems relating to tomorrow's session of the Slovene Assembly at which they will also take a constructive vote of no confidence in the government. Janko Saradjen reports:

[Begin Saradjen recording] The votes of 121 deputies will be needed to push through the proposal on a constructive vote of no confidence in the government, which is one vote more than half of all deputies.

The Constitution specifies that the vote be secret. The dilemma, whether the candidate for the new Slovene prime minister has to present the program of his government prior to the voting, is superfluous as the Constitution does not formally request this. However, we have learned unofficially that Marko Voljc will nevertheless present the main points of his program to the deputies. This is enough about some constitutional dilemmas before tomorrow's Assembly session.

The Constitutional Commission was scheduled to discuss the guidelines for the new electoral legislation. It appeared from the discussion at the beginning of the session that the Constitutional Commission will again find itself in a deadlock. Namely, some of the Commission's members, among them Danijel Starman, Dr. Rajko Pirnat, and Ivan Bizjak again opened the debate on the advantages of the combined simple majority and proportional representation system over the pure proportional representation system. This was in spite of the fact that at the five earlier interparty meetings the majority of the parties that could obtain a two-thirds majority in the parliament reached a consensus on proportional representation.

The advocates of the combined system were of the opinion that people would prefer to vote for a known candidate from their constituency, rather than let the parties decide this matter. They even demanded a public debate on this issue, or at least a debate in the communes.

At the end they agreed that an expert commission nevertheless will start working and applying proportional representation. Individual deputies will be elected with preferential votes, while the remaining votes would be distributed among the parties in accordance with their electoral performance.

The commission was not opposed to the parallel public and expert debate. However, this debate could only affect the size of the constituencies and the minimum level of votes that will still enable parties to enter the parliament. Of course, all this applies to the elections in the state assembly [drzavni zbor].

The electoral legislation will also contain some 10 laws of a more technical nature. The way in which the elections are held for the state council [drzavni svet], where local and other interests will be represented, could be direct or indirect, depending on what those who represent the aforementioned interests decide.

The president of the republic—the new constitution no longer envisages a presidency—will be elected through general and secret elections.

The expert basis for the preparation of the electoral legislation has, therefore, been given. However, one still cannot tell with certainty whether the elections will be held in June or in the fall. [end recording]

Gold Exchange Opens in Ljubljana

AU1902111092 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Feb 92 p 1

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 13 February— Ljubljana got its precious metals exchange today. Trading was still rather low on the first day, as only half a million tolars worth of gold changed hands. There was no trading in silver because the difference between the buying and selling rate was too big. [passage omitted]

A gram of gold in Slovenia costs 1,206 tolars, therefore, one has to pay 37,507 tolars for an ounce of gold (31.1 grams). During today's trading, gold coins, mostly weighing approximately one ounce, were traded. Bullion was also traded in the form of 50 gram blocks with 999/1000 purity.

In the future the Ljubljana Precious Metals Exchange intends to trade in platinum and palladium, but only if the need arises.

One will be able to buy and sell precious metals weekly. Boris Tomaz Snuderl, exchange deputy director, said that Slovenes presently possess more in gold than they possessed in securities when the Ljubljana Stock Exchange opened.

Austria's Busek on Slovene-Austrian Cooperation

92BA0487A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 3 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed article: "There Are No Disagreements With Vienna"—first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] Austrian Vice Chancellor Dr. Erhard Busek has finished a two-day visit to Slovenia; our northern neighbors have proposed adopting an intergovernmental trade agreement; preparation of documents that will make possible equal validity for Slovene university and other diplomas.

Ljubljana, 3 Feb—Economic cooperation with Austria is crucial for the development of the Slovene economy, stated Dr. Andrej Ocvirk, among other things, at the end of a two-day visit to Slovenia by Dr. Erhard Busek, the Austrian Vice Chancellor.

That is why the most time was devoted to seeking specific means and types of economic cooperation, and possibilities for long-term and medium-term investment in the Slovene economy; they also talked about the infrastructure, the Sava chain of electrical power plants, the Krsko nuclear power plant, and highway links. The Austrian Government proposed adopting an intergovernmental trade agreement, which the Slovene side will review in the near future.

Dr. Dmitrij Rupel, the Slovene Foreign Minister, also spoke with Austrian Vice Chancellor Erhard Busek. At the press conference, Dr. Busek said that they had

actually continued where Austrian Foreign Minister Mock had left off in his recent important visit to Slovenia. "The question of recognizing Slovenia is behind us," Dr. Busek said, "and now the process of the productive inclusion of the new European state in European economic ties and developed forms of cooperation with Austria await the new state."

Dr. Rupel said that the Foreign Ministry would have to prepare appropriate documents that would allow equal validity for Slovene school, university, and other academic diplomas and titles. With respect to relations with Austria, he said that we did not want to dim our excellent relations with our neighbor with even a little shadow, since there had not been any disagreements between the two states, as some people had wanted to indicate.

With respect to the Austrian State Treaty, we are not concerned with technical accession to that document per se, but rather with proving our rights in connection with legal succession to Yugoslavia. The interlocutors agreed that the rules for the protection of minorities contained in the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] should become universal rules for the protection of minorities both in Austria and in Slovenia.